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THE
CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT STUDIES
VOL XLVIII

PĀNINIः

HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE,

AN INVESTIGATION

OF SOME

LITERARY AND CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

WHICH MAY BE SETTLED BY A STUDY OF HIS WORK

BY

THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER

FIRST INDIAN EDITION

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR SURENDRA NATH SHASTRI

M A D Phil LL B F R A S [London]

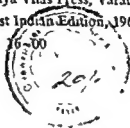
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Pāṇini, the celebrated author of the Ashtādhyāyī has gained universal recognition as the greatest grammarian who has produced a scientific system of Sanskrit grammar. Theodor Goldstucker, an erudite German Sanskrit scholar of the nineteenth century has written a scholarly treatise on Pāṇini His place in Sanskrit Literature. This valuable work of Goldstucker was published from London in 1860 which went out of stock and print long since. But it was not printed again, and the work remained beyond the access of the Sanskrit scholars, and its want has been greatly felt by them. In order to meet their requirements the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office thought it fit to bring out its reprint under their scheme of publishing the rare works of eminent Sanskritists which are not available nowadays. With this view the Publishers requested the reputed Sanskrit scholar, Prof S N Shāstri, M A, D Phil, LL B, F R A S (London) to edit the said work, who very kindly consented to do it. In the present edition, the learned editor has appended the English translation of those quotations in German which have not been paraphrased by the author and has also given various useful Indices at the end to facilitate a ready reference, and revised the diacritical marks according to the popular method of Sanskrit transliteration. This is the first Indian edition of this valuable work, and it is hoped that it will serve the advanced students of Sanskrit grammar for whom it is primarily meant.

Vārāṇasī,
April 10, 1965 }

PUBLISHERS.

PREFACE

Since the acquaintance of the Western scholars with the ancient Indian literature in the earlies of the eighteenth century of the Christian era there has been a constant progress of the Indic studies in the Western world. During the nineteenth century, the West has produced many historical and critical treatises on various subjects of study comprising Sanskrit literature, and their lays have not only been very fruitful but very valuable as well in reconstructing the unbroken tradition of the great Indian heritage. The interest of the Western mind centred round mainly the Vaidika lore especially the Rg-veda the oldest literary composition possessed by the human race. With a view to attaining an appreciable mastery over the great treasure of knowledge stored in the ancient Indian literature, the Western scholars took due care to extend the field of their activity to the study of the Vedangas, the six ancillaries which unfold the mysteries of the ancient mind to the study of the various systems of Indian Philosophy and of the classical Sanskrit literature. In process of time their efforts developed Indology as a distinct department of study under humanities, and the result has been an all round probe from the Western point of view into the Sanskrit lore and many a mind and diligent hand worked upon the vast field of Sanskrit literature. Most of these scholars, actuated with a prepossession of their superiority over others, endeavoured to interpret the sacred idiom of the ancient Hindus in their own way and took pride in differing partially or wholly from the traditions of the race which produced such an immensely valuable literature in the hoary past. While others who took a dispassionate view made an earnest endeavour to reveal to the modern scholarship the actual and the real sense of the ancient works, and did not hesitate to place, in the proper perspective, the intrinsic worth of the system of thought under their survey, and to appreciate the values of the contribution made by the ancient seers to the progress of humanity at large with no limitations of any clime.

or age Among the scholars of the latter trend of mind who ardently advanced the course of studies in Sanskrit language and literature in the nineteenth century through their literary productions of abiding interest, THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER is a great name

His Life Theodor Goldstücker was born of Jewish parents on the 18th of January 1821 at Königsberg in Prussia After matriculating at the age of fifteen he attended lectures of Lobeck on classical philology, of Schubert on history and of Rosenkranz on Philosophy He studied elementary Sanskrit under P von Bohlen Later on, he proceeded to Bonn in 1838 and studied Arabic under Freytag and Indian literature under A W von Schlegel He took an advance course of studies in Sanskrit under Professor Lassen and took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1840 at a tender age of nineteen In 1842 he went to Paris and in course of his stay of three years there he came in close contact with E Burnouf In 1845 he went back home and settled in Königsberg where he could not stay for long Two years after he moved to Berlin but even there he was not destined to stay longer In 1850, he accepted an invitation from H H Wilson to prepare a new edition of his Sanskrit Dictionary and went to England where he was appointed as an honorary Professor at the University College London in 1852 This assignment he held upto the end of his life He breathed his last on the 6th of March 1872

His Works As a result of his studies in Sanskrit literature his first work has been the translation of the well-known philosophical drama, the *Prabodha Candrodāya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, published in 1842 from Königsberg He prepared a new edition of the *Mahābhārata* a specimen of his critical ability His most outstanding work was the preparation of a critical Sanskrit-English dictionary the first and the only fasciculus of which was published from London during the long period of nine years, 1856-1864 This work in its preparation assumed such a voluminous magnitude that the task had to be given up even before the completion of the first letter of the Sanskrit Alphabet Nevertheless, the work in its initial pages has given hundreds of

valuable monographs which will ever remain a constant companion to scholars in the study of the subject under treatment. Then in 1865 Goldstucker brought out the first fasciculus of his valuable compendium of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, viz the *Jaiminiya-mōlā-vistara* of *Mādhavāchārya*. The later fasciculi of this work were published posthumously in the name of Goldstucker by Professor Conell. In the meanwhile he took himself to the study of the *Kalpa-sūtras* and brought out a critical edition of the *Mānava-Kalpa-sūtra* from London in the year, 1861. For a considerably long period he was devoted to the studies of Pāṇini and his system of Sanskrit grammar. No other Sanskrit scholar in the West was so very thoroughly acquainted with the most difficult works on Sanskrit grammar as was Goldstucker and he was day to day, adding his collections on grammatical works. He had in his mind to bring out a comprehensive work on Sanskrit grammar, and as a result of his patient research and hard work he worked out a voluminous edition in six volumes of *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* with *Kaṣyapa's Bhāṣya* and *Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's Tīkā* on the latter. The last two hundred pages of this magnum opus were published by the Government of India in 1874. Goldstucker contributed several articles on Indian Philosophy and Mythology which were collected and published after his death as his *Literary Remains* in 1879. His last work was "On the deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law".

His Scholarship. Goldstucker enjoyed a very high reputation for his versatile scholarship. He was deemed a great authority on Sanskrit philology and general literature, Pāṇinian Grammar and Hindu law. Alexander von Humboldt eulogised him in most flattering terms even Burnoff consulted him often on technical points, Max Müller spoke of him as the greatest Sanskritist of his age. As the highest European authority on the Hindu law, he was often consulted by the Government of India on knotty points of inheritance.

His works evince not only a rare scholarship but the greatest accuracy and remarkable completeness. His thoroughness and an appreciation of the correct view-point with the requisite bold-

ness to present logically his contemporary opinion on a subject under his survey', are the outstanding merits of his sound knowledge and solid scholarship. His outspoken criticism of scholars who hazarded their conclusions on their meagre understanding of the subject in their hand, made him at times a target of unscholarly bitterness, the very usual apology for the failures of fumbling scholars. He had often to cross swords with those who occupied the Professorial chairs like Weber Roth Böhtlingk Kuhn and at places he had to differ even from Max Müller. But the arguments advanced by Goldstucker could hardly be rebutted, and there have been occasions when his adversaries had to revise their opinion and recognise his merit. His critical work "*Pāṇini his place in Sanskrit literature*" is an outstanding contribution by Goldstucker, who very correctly assessed the worth of Pāṇini and vindicated his position in right earnest. In course of this attempt the author had to differ from Weber radically and also to question the methods of Roth and Böhtlingk, the joint editors of St Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary. On the view-point regarding acquaintance of the ancient Hindus with the art of writing Goldstucker had to examine threadbare the opinion of Max Müller recorded in his "*Ancient Sanskrit literature*", which is his distinct contribution to the assessment of ancient Hindu culture and civilisation.

In the present work Goldstucker has first of all examined the significations of the terms like Sūtra kāṇḍa paṭṭa pāṭaḥ varṇa karaṇa akṣhara upadeśa ūrdhva, mantra cchandas and has taken a critical notice of the views of Weber in particular. Then he has taken up the problem of the dates of Kāṭyāyana and Pāṇini and assessed the views of Böhtlingk on the chronology of the ancient Hindu writers. Then while treating the grammatical literature of Pāṇini he has taken due account of Kārikās Paṇibhāṣās Vārtikās and Iṣṭis. From a closer study of Pāṇini's work Goldstucker has deduced his own conclusions regarding Pāṇini's acquaintance with the Saṃhitās of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the six systems of Hindu philosophy. Then he has proceeded to the treatment of the chronological survey in relation to Pāṇini and the Upanādi-sūtras,

Pāṇini and the Dhātupāṭha, Pāṇini and the Prāśākhya's Pāṇini and the Pluṭ-sūtras, Pūrini and Yāska, and Pāṇini and Gautama Buddha Towards the end of the present treatise the author has discussed the date and early history of Patañjali's *Mahā-bhāṣya* and emphasised over the importance of the Hindu commentaries and the traditional element available in them. He closes his dissertation with a note on the present position of Sanskrit Philology and vindicates his position against his adversaries. Thus the present work of Goldstucker sheds a flood of light on several problems connected with the celebrated work of Pāṇini and presents a solution to some of the important chronological problems. It is no doubt, a very valuable work and is indispensable for students of Sanskrit grammar who desire to be acquainted with the position of Pāṇini in the Sanskrit literature.

This dissertation in fact forms a portion of his Preface to his edition of the *Mānava-kalpa-sūtras*, but, later on the admirers of Goldstucker pressed him to publish this fragment as an independent monograph for the benefit of the students of Pāṇini, and he conceded to this request. It was published as such, in 1860 from London more or less in the form of an extract from his Introduction to the fac-simile of the *Mānava-kalpa-sūtras* published by him. Even this edition of the present work has been long since out of print and stock and for several decades past it has been beyond the reach of the present-day scholars. With a view to making this valuable work once again available to the ardent students of Pāṇini it is being published for the first time in India. While preparing this Indian edition, some of the portions which did not bear upon the treatment of the subject in hand have been omitted in order to enable the reader to have a grasp over the subject without diversion. In the present edition, the diacritical marks have been revised thoroughly and a uniform system as prevalent today has been adopted. The author has quite often cited extracts originally written in the German language and has almost invariably given its English translation as well. All the same, at a few places he has not done the English rendering.

and of such passages the English version is appended in this edition at the end of the book. Then, three indices showing the works, and authors under reference, and quotations alphabetically arranged are hereto appended in order to facilitate reference

The present editor hopes that this edition would serve the cause of the studies in Sanskrit and is thankful to the Proprietors of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies who have very enthusiastically undertaken to bring out this Indian edition and earned the gratitude of the students of Pāṇini who have been, for a long time past, bereft of the company of an erudite scholar of the eminence of Theodor Goldstücker

Rāma Navam, }
Vik Samvat 2022 }

SH Shastri,
EDITOR

TO

RUDOLF VIRCHOW,

THE GREAT DISCOVERER AND DEFENDER OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THE present pages form the Preface to the Facsimile of the
Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtra The
separate impression has been taken at the suggestion of my
publishers and other friends, who thought that it would be
desirable to make their contents more easy of access than they
are in the original work

This circumstance will explain the apparent incongruity of
presenting them without the Manuscript which they describe

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

November 2, 1860

}

TH G

NOTICE

THE first part of the fifth volume of Professor Weber's "Indische Studien," in pretending to be a scientific review of the present pages, has attempted to refute nearly every conclusion they contain. But as the plausibility which Professor Weber has endeavoured to impart to his objections, is based either on a misrepresentation of my method as well as of my principal arguments and results, or on the suppression of essential parts of my inquiry — though he distinctly professes to follow it "step by step" — or on the allegation of literary facts which do not exist, I have considered it my duty to examine and to illustrate this extraordinary proceeding in a pamphlet which will be issued to the public in a few months, and which, to my regret, must now precede the review I promised (page 268) to give of the Petersburg "Sanskrit Worterbuch."

In appending this warning to the present volume, I have now merely to state that, having carefully weighed the value of Professor Weber's objections, I do not find that they have invalidated any one of the main results which are here laid before the reader.

TH G

London, 1st September 1861

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ERRATA

Page	line	For	Read
7	7	Chaturmās ya	Chāturmāsya
24	16	vice versā	vice versa
36	30	यदेदुक्त	यदेदुक्त
83	11	Ashleshā	Āshleshā
87	15	contemoraTry	contemporary
96	12	anthor	author
143	27	edition	edition
148	36	cousider	consider
155	10	belive	believe
159	12	Sāmavedāhymns	Sāma-veda hymns
174	24	literature	literature
176	22	Anrrecht	Aufrecht
181	15	Bochtlink	Boehtlingk
195	29	Gann ratna*	Gana-ratna*
197	33	Bochtlingk	Boehtlingk
201	31	matter of fact	matter of fact
205	32	fur	für
*207	6	steht	steht
213	36	श्रीमद्भागवत	श्रीमद्भागवत
225	32	ting	tin
227	last	Rk-Prat *	Rk-Prāt*
231	23	Gautamtyah	Gautamtyāh
233	et seq	Boehtlingk	Boehtlingk
254	12	withtn	within
256	last	318	237 supra
*284	31	Geltun gzu	Geltung zu

* Errors not noticed even in the European edition

PĀNINI:

HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

WHEN collecting materials for a History of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, I happened to find in the Library of the East India House a Manuscript (No 17), formerly belonging to the collection of Mr Colebrooke, which bore on its outer page the remark 'अनेदकुमारेलभाष्यस २२००,' (i e, 'the number of 32 syllables, in this commentary of Kumārela on the Rgveda is 2,200'), and ended on leaf 120 with these words 'प्रथमस्या ॥ २२०० ॥ छ ॥ कुमारेलभाष्य समाप्त ॥' (i e, 'the number, of 32 syllables, in the book is 2,200, end of the Commentary of Kumārela') The remark of the title, which differs in its handwriting from the rest of the book, seems to have been made by a Hindu, who, with much exactness, counted the number of the syllables for the copying of which he had to pay his scribe, but it certainly did not come from one conversant with Sanskrit literature Nor can a better opinion be entertained of the Shaikh who finished copying this volume—'Samvat 1643 (or 1585 after Christ), when the sun was progressing south of the equator, in the autumn season, during the light fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), in the city of Benares, for the perusal of Devayika (Devakiya ?), the son of Jāni and Mahidhara, — or of the writer of his Manuscript,—since the Shaikh professes to have copied the latter with the utmost accuracy, faults and all, —for neither were the contents of this volume a commentary on the Rgveda, nor would a learned man have mis-spelt several words, and very common ones, too, of his own composition, and, above all, the name of one of the most celebrated authors of India In short, the Manuscript in question contained no other matter

than a portion of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, together with a commentary of Kumārila Svāmīn, the great Mīmāṃsā authority

A discovery of this ritual work, which had thus remained latent under a wrong designation, would at all times have been welcome to those engaged in the study of Vaidika literature, it gained in interest from the facts that a doubt had been raised, I do not know on what grounds, whether a copy of it had survived, and that a commentary of Kumārila on these Sūtras, had, so far as my knowledge goes, never yet been spoken of in any European or Sanskrit book

It was but natural, under these circumstances, that I should think of making the knowledge I had obtained generally available, by editing this manuscript, but, to my utter disappointment, I soon perceived, after having examined it in detail, that it belonged to that class of written books, the contents of which may be partially made out and partially guessed, but which are so hopelessly incorrect that a seeming restoration of their text would require a greater amount of conjecture than could be permitted to an editor, or might be consistent with the respect due to the author of the work itself

When, therefore, another copy of the Mānava Kalpa-Sūtras with the Commentary of Kumārila was not to be procured, and when I began to surmise that the volume in the possession of the East India House was a unique copy of this rare work I resolved, with the consent of Professor Wilson, to have a facsimile of it lithographed and printed This resolution was strengthened by the consideration that even a correct text of these Sūtras would be serviceable only to the few scholars who are familiar with this branch of the oldest Sanskrit literature, and that they would be able, by the aid they might get from other existing Sūtras on the Vaidika ritual, and the Mīmāṃsā works, to turn to account even this incorrect manuscript, in spite of the many doubts it leaves It was strengthened, too, by the conviction I entertain, that unique manuscripts, or those which are rarely met with,—every existing copy of which consequently possesses a literary value much exceeding that of ordinary manuscripts,—ought to be saved from possible casualties by mechanical contrivances, the most

practical of which, as answering the requirements of the case and entailing the least expense, seems to be that which has been used in the production of the present fac-simile

I must, however, confess that after several disappointments in trying to secure the necessary aid, I should probably have been compelled to abandon my plan, had I not been able to avail myself of the assistance of a talented young lady, Miss Amelia Rattenbury, who, while devoting herself to the study of Sanskrit, came to my rescue, and, with much patience and skill, accomplished the tracing of the original

Her work may, indeed, in some parts, be still open to criticism, so far as the exact thickness of the letters on a few pages is concerned, or if some shortcomings, especially those which are noticed in the Errata, be too much insisted upon, but I must in fairness state that several omissions of *Anusvāras* or strokes, as pointed out in the Errata, are not her fault, but the result of accidents which occurred in transferring the fac-simile to stone, and such defects could not, it would seem, have been wholly avoided, notwithstanding the careful attention which was paid to the work by the lithographic printers, Messrs Standidge and Co, and, I may add, in spite of the great trouble I took myself in revising the proofs on the stones, and in thus combining the work of a Sanskritist with that of an apprentice in lithography. Several sheets which failed to show distinctly some *Anusvāras* or parts of the letters themselves, though transferred to the stone and originally visible there, I cancelled at once, but this expeditious process became, by frequent repetition, so little convenient, that I had to submit at last, though reluctantly, to a list of Errata which, however small, seems to be at variance with the notion of a fac-simile

On the whole, however, and after this censure, the severity of which, I trust, no one will see occasion to increase, I must express my belief, that the text which is laid before the reader is, when amended by the aid of the Errata list, not merely a thoroughly correct representation of the contents of the special manuscript from which it is copied, but, at the

same time, = good specimen of a facsimile of a Sanskrit manuscript¹

Of the work itself I have but little to say, for the Sanskrit scholars who will take an interest in it are well acquainted with the general characteristics of those ritual books which bear the name of Kalpa-Sūtras, and they know, too, that the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras teach the ceremonial connected with

1 It is necessary to observe that the original, in its actual bound condition, measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in breadth, with the exception of fol 62 which is 4 inches broad. The surplus of margin in the facsimile belongs, therefore, to the latter. The binder, in reducing the leaves of the original to the size stated, has in various instances encroached upon the writing, and cut away either portions of letters or even whole letters, which circumstance will account for the defects in the marginal additions of, especially, fol 1, 3a, b, 5b, 11a, 12a, 13a, 14a, 25a, 26a, 32b, 33a, 34a, 48a, b, 50b, 52a, 53a, 54a, 58a, 60a, 61a, 62a, 66b, 68a, 70b, 74b, 80b, 81a, 86b, 89b, 107b, 108b, 113a. Another destructive animal, the white ant, has also added to the work of devastation in the interior of the MS, but much more rarely, on the margin of fol 16a two strokes (=) indicate the eaten portion. Towards the end of the MS, especially from fol 90 upwards, the original has the appearance of having been smeared or powdered over, and this carelessness, caused no doubt by putting the leaves together before the writing was dry, has produced in several instances the errors of the facsimile, especially as it became sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a dot represented an original *anusvāra* or a smear. I have to mention, besides, that the leaves of the original are bound so as to read downwards, and that the same arrangement has been preserved in the present work in order not to allow it to deviate from the appearance of its modern prototype. There is good reason, however, to suppose that the ancient Hindus had the leaves of their MSS arranged so as to read in the reverse or upward direction. For one liberty which has been taken in the facsimile, I am personally answerable. The remark on the outside page, mentioned above, with its misspelling of the name of Kumārila and its literary error, will not be found in this volume, its place is filled by the likeness of the god of literary accuracy who is invoked in the commencement of the work.

the old recension of the Yajurveda, the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā. The portion of these Sūtras contained in the present fac-simile comprises the first four books of the whole work : the first or Yājñamāna book, in two chapters (from fol 1 to 54 a, and 54 a to 55 b), the second on the Agnīūdjhāna (from fol 55 b to 84 B), the the third on the Agnihotra (from fol 84 b to 106 a), and the fourth on the Chaturmāsī sacrifices, in six chapters (from fol 106 a to 108 a, from there to the end of fol 109 a, from 109 b to 112 a, from there to 113 a from 113 a to 115 a, and hence to the end)² That these books are the first portion

2 There occur in the text and commentary of these books the following words for sacrifices, sacrificial and other acts connected with them

अनु, अग्निचयन, अग्निपरिस्तरण, अग्निप्रस्तरण, अग्निमन्थन, अग्निपशु, अग्निष्टोम, अग्निस्तेकार, अग्निहोत्र (दशहोत्राग्निहोत्र, प्रथमाग्निहोत्र), अग्निहोम, अग्राधान, अग्राधेय (आग्न्याधेयिक) अग्न्याधेयेष्टि, अग्नपाक अतिरात्र, अधिपशु, अधिमयन, अनुग्रापन, अनुमन्त्रण, अनुयाज अग्राधान, अग्राधर्मणीया, अभिषार, अभिषारण, अभिनिर्वाप, अभिमर्जन, अभ्यञ्जन, अभ्युक्षण, अभ्युहन, आग्नेययाग, आग्नेयेष्टि, आग्न्याधेयिक, आग्राधान, आग्राहोम, आज्याहुति, आधान, आमन्त्रण, आरम्भणीया, आवपन, आवमन्थ, आररण, आहुति (यूप०), आह्वान, इष्टि (ऐष्टिक), उपवन, उदनन, उद्वाह, उद्गहन, उद्गमन, उद्वाह (औद्वाहिक), उन्नयन, उपकल्पति, उपचार, उपयमन, उपयाम, उपवपन, उपवमन्थ, वषट्कार, ऐष्टिक, वाकहोम, कान्धेष्टि, कृष्णलपाक, गोदोह (गोदोहन), चर्विष्टि, चातुर्मास्य, चाद्राया, अप, तुषविमोक, तुषावाप, दद्य, दशपौर्णमास, दशहोत्राग्निहोत्र, दीक्षा, देवयजन (ऋषी), दोह (गो०), द्वादशाहिक, नाराक्षस, निरयहोम, नियतमोजन, निर्मन्थ, निर्वपण (निर्वाप), निष्टवन, निष्पावन, पक्तामयाज, परिमार्जन, परिवापण, परिवेक, परिस्तरण, परिहरण, पर्वणिकरण, पशुक्षेप, पशुवध, पशुश्रपण, पाक, पाकवध, पाणिग्रहण, पिण्डनिधान, पिण्डवितृपशु, पितृकाय, पितृमेध वितृपशु, पिष्टपेषण, पिष्टलेप, पूर्वाहुति, पौर्णमास, प्रणयन (अग्नि०), प्रथमाग्नि होत्र, प्रावक्षिप्त, प्रेष, प्रोक्षण, प्रोहण, कल्पीकरण, बहि प्रहरण, बहि स्तरण, बहिहरण, मक्षवरण, मत्तदान, मात्रस्तोम, मन्त्राहुति, यज (यजिय), याग, यूपवेदन, यूपसम्मार्जन, यूराहुति, रानसूय, राष्ट्रमृत्, वपन, वरण (ब्रह्म०), वरुणप्रसास, वषट्कार (वषट्कृत), वस्त्रविनास, विहार (वैद्वाहिक) वैदिकरण, वेदोपयाम, त्रायिमोक, त्रतोपायन, शुनासोर्य, दमश्रुवपन, अपण, सस्कार, सस्पर्श, सत्य, सन्नहन, सनिवपन, साकमेध (अधिक), सान्त्वयन (ऋषी), सोमपान, सोमाधान, सोमेष्टि, स्तरण, स्वाहाकार, स्विष्टकृत्, होम, for sacrificial substances, implements, prayers, or objects incidentally mentioned as referring to them अग्नि (आद्वनीयाग्नि, आहिनाग्नि, उपनाग्नि, गार्हपत्याग्नि, दक्षिणाग्नि, शालाग्नि), अग्निष्ट, अग्निहोत्रवर्णी, अज, अश्व, अश्वत्थ अष्टाकराल, आज्य, आनहुद, आमिक्षा, आद्वनीयाग्नि, इडा, इध्म, इध्मावर्हिस्, इष्टिपशु.

of the Mānava-Sūtra results not merely from the matter treated in them, but also from a fact which accidentally came to my cognizance after the printing of the present volume had been completed

Professor Muller, who is engaged in writing a history of Vaidika literature, had met among the MSS of the East India House, which he consulted for his labour, one (No 599) which bore at its end the intimation of being a part of the Mānava-Sūtras, and when he showed me the MS, I saw at

उत्तरवेदि (ओत्तरवेदिक), उपताम्रि, उपमृत् (ओपमृत्), उपल, उत्तुल्ल, कर्णा, पक्षकपाल, ओदन, ओषधि, कपाल (अष्टा०, एक०, दश०, नव०, पञ्च०, षट्०, सप्त०), वर्ष, कंस्य, काष्ठ, कुण्डल, कुम्भी, कुम्भाग्नि, क्षौम, खनित्र, खादिर, खन्नेवाली, गान्धर्वाग्नि, शुग्गुल्ल, गोक्षीर, गोदध, यावन्, धृन्, चम्, चक्ष, चक्षुष्यारी, चर्मन्, चात्वाल, जपमन्त्र, जरह्व, जुहु (जौह्व), तण्डुल, निक, तुष, दक्षिणा, दक्षिणापार, दक्षिणाग्नि, दक्षिणापत्र, दण्ड, दधि, दम्, दर्मपिण्ड, दर्भरज्जु, दर्भी, दशकपाल, दित्यवाद् (दिरवीही), इषद्, इप्स, धाम्य, धिष्य, ध्रुवा (ध्रौव), नवकपाल, नवनीत, पक्षकपाल, परिधि, पर्णशाखा, पवित्र, पशु, पशुपुरोडाश, पात्र (पात्री), पिण्ड, (दर्भ०), पिण्ड, पुनिक, पृथुमावन्, प्रगीता, प्रस्तर, प्राचीनावीत, बहिस्, बलि, ब्रह्मोदन (ब्रह्मोदनिक), भक्त, भद्रसुक्, मरमन्, मधुपर्क, मन्त्र, महाहविन्, मांस, माष, मुद्ग, मुद्गर, मुसल, मूल, मृग, मृदङ्ग, नेषी, मौञ्ज, यथायथिव, यशोपवीत (०तिन्), यव, यवागू, याज्यानुवाक्या, यूप, योक्तु, रज्जु, रध, रेखा, रूप, रोमन्, वस्त, वल, वामदेव्य, वारवन्तीय, वेदि (उत्तरवेदि, वेदिधोणि), वेद्व, व्रीहि, शकट, शतमान, शतायुष, शमी (शमीशाखा), शर, शराव, शाखा, शाखा, शाखाग्नि, शुद्ध, शर्प, दमश्च, श्यामाक, श्येनी, पक्षकपाल, मष्टरुपाण, समिष्टयुजस्, सम्भार, मात्रय, मौम, सन्ध यजुन्, सुक् (सौव), सुव, स्वय, हविर्धान, हविस्, हिष्य, *for the time of sacrificial acts, austerities, etc* अनुमया, अमावास्या, उरमत्साल, वृष्टिका, चैत्री, दक्षिणाकाल, धावाष्टमिथी, पुनर्वसु, प्रातर्, फाल्गुनी, सुवन्, भू, माध्यन्दिन, मार्गशीर्ष, नृगशिरस्, रात्रि, वर्षा (वार्षिक), रेवती, रोहिणी, वमन्त वैशाखी, ष्युष्ट, शरद्, शिशिर, शुनासीर, सवत्सर, सव जल, सायन्, सुवोदय, स्वर्, स्वर्, हेमत, *for priests, sacrificer, etc* अध्वयु (आध्वर्यव), आश्रोत्र, आवातविज्, उद्गातृ, ऋत्विज्, चमसाध्वर्यु, पत्नी, पुरोहित, प्रणिप्रस्थान्, ब्रह्मन् (ब्रह्मत्व), यजमान (याजमान), यशपति, यष्ट, होतृ (होत्र), *for duxes ses (and their derivatives)* जग्नि, अग्निथो मीय, अग्नीन्द्र (इन्द्राग्नि), अग्निर्, अपानपत्, अपोनपत् (अपानपोग), आग्नेन्द्र, आग्नेय, आदित्य, आश्विन, इन्द्र, इन्द्राणी, ऐन्द्र, ऐन्द्राग्न, यन्त्र, तनूतपाद, ध्वष्क, देव, देवता, पृथन्, बलदेव, बहुदेव, बहुस्पति, मन्त्र (भारत), महेंद्र, मैत्रावरुण, मैत्रायण, रक्षम्, रक्ष, वरुण (वारुण), वायु, विश्वदेवा (वैश्वदेव), विष्णु, वैश्वानर, सूर्य (सौर्य), सोम, सोमपोग, सौर्यवारुण, हिरण्यगर्भ ।

once that it was written by the same writer who had copied the original of the present fac-simile, in a similar, though smaller and less elegant, handwriting, and immediately after he had copied the first four books. For he states himself in his closing words that he finished copying 'the fifth part of the Agnishṭoma book of the Mānava-Sūtra, Samvat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing north of the equator, in the winter season, during the light fortnight of the month Pausha (December-January), on the fifteenth lunar day, in the city of Benares', and the next syllable, immediately succeeded by a blank in the MS, makes it probable that he wrote this portion, too, for the perusal of the son of Mahīdhara. His conscience, however, seems to have been more sensitive regarding the accuracy with which he had performed his task, at the end of the Agnishṭoma portion, than it was before, since he makes a very touching appeal to the indulgence of the reader, and is even modest enough to count himself amongst the scribes of limited intellect³.

The contents of this latter manuscript, viz the description of the Agnishṭoma rites in five Adhyāyās,⁴ now, too, explain

3 I subjoin a literal copy of the last page (37) of this MS with all the faults, which will give some idea of the unhappy fate of these Mānava Sūtras in the hands of their ignorant transcriber. यादृश पुस्तक इह । तादृश लिखितं मया ॥ यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा नमो दीयते न दायते ॥ १ ॥ अदृश्य आगतमग्निं विभ्रमाद्वा ॥ यदर्थज्ञानं लिखितं मयात्र । तत्तत्समाय परिशोधनीयं सोऽपि न दुर्वापिस्तु लेपकस्य ॥ २ ॥ यामनुस्त्वोऽपि यो वत्सा । नानाशास्त्रविशारद । मुदा ते लिखमानोऽपि किं पुनः स्वस्वदुष्टय ॥ ओं स्वस्ति ॥ सवत् १६४३ वर्षे शाके । अवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे । इमं न श्रुती मशामागस्यप्रद ॥ यौपमसे शुक्लपक्षे १५ मास्यो नित्यौ अचोद काशिकास्तस्य मोदगान्तोऽपि ॥ अ । लिखितम् । लेपकपाठकयोः शुभं भवतु ॥ नानव सूरस्य अग्निष्टोमाख्यस्य पञ्चमभागस्य पुस्तकमलेऽपि ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ चमसाध्वयैव । धोना १ मद्र ॥ २ उद्गाता ३ यजमान । ४ प्रशाम्ब । ५ ब्राह्मणाच्छदसि ६ पोता ॥ ७ नेष्ट । ८ आग्नीध्र । ९ अद्वावाक । १० एने दश चमसाध्वयव । and after this last piece of scholarship is added in a different hand स्वपुस्तकं ॥ लोमसूत्रं ॥ अध्या ७२ (१)

4 Whether the work which is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS at Benares, p 118, under the title लोमसूत्रादि पानम् (No 2503) be the same as the Agnishṭoma portion of the Mānava-

the meaning of the concluding words of our MS (fol 120 b) प्रागसोमभाष्य सपूर्ण (which ought to be प्रागसोम*), for thy clearly point to a continuation treating on the Soma rites, which continuation is given in the MS, 599, so far as the text of the *Sūtras* goes, though this MS does not contain any further commentary of Kumārila

The text of the first four books of the *Sūtras* in our MS is, unhappily, only fragmentary. Sometimes, but rarely, a *Sūtra* is given in full before the gloss of Kumārila, for the most part, however, the copy of the text, as is the case with many manuscripts of Commentaries on *Sūtras*, starts from the assumption that the reader possesses a MS which contains the words of the *Sūtra*, and refers to them by merely giving the first and the last word of the sentence which is the subject of the commentary. Now and then, it is true, some further words of the *Sūtra* emerge from the gloss of Kumārila, but, though it is possible to understand the purport of his comment, it would be a fruitless task to try to construe from it the full detail of the text, since much of the latter is left unnoticed, as requiring, apparently, no gloss.

The interest connected with the present volume centres, therefore, chiefly in the commentary of Kumārila, and in the fact itself that it is this great Mīmāṃsā writer who composed a commentary on the Mānava-Sūtras of the Taittiriya-Samhitā. For, since in Sanskrit literature, commentaries on works which involve scientific convictions or religious belief were, as a rule, written by those alone who shared in these convictions or meant to defend this belief, it is a matter of significance that this celebrated representative of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine, who lived before Śaṅkara, the commentator of the Vedānta-Sūtras,⁵ should have attached his remarks to a *Sūtra* belonging to the Black-Yajus School.

Sūtras, I have had no means of ascertaining. The same Catalogue records the existence of the मानवसूत्रम् (p 78, No 761), but without naming the Commentary of Kumārila.

⁵ Compare the Preface to the first edition of Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, p xviii seqq.

That this circumstance cannot be accidental is rendered probable by collateral facts Kumārīla quotes on two occasions (fol 14 a and 85 d) the opinion of Śabara-Svāmin on passages in the *Sūtras*, and as it is not the commentary of this author on the Jaimini *Sūtras* to which he refers, his quotation can only imply that Śabara had composed, besides, a gloss either on the Mānava-, or on other *Sūtras* of the same school Śabara, however, is, like Kumārīla whom he preceded, one of the principal authorities of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy⁶ Mādhava also, the commentator on the Vedas, who may be considered as the last writer of eminence on the Mīmāṃsā, composed or indited a commentary on another *Sūtra* work of the Taittirīya Samhitā, the *Sūtra* of Baudhāyana Of commentators on other *Sūtras* of the Black Yajur-veda I do not speak, since they have not attained a prominent rank among the Mīmāṃsists But it ought not to be left unnoticed, on the other hand, that neither the Kalpa works connected with the Rgveda, nor those belonging to the Sāma, or White Yajur-veda, had commentators who, at the same time, wrote Mīmāṃsā works

It would seem, therefore, and I shall have to advert to this point in detail in a more appropriate place, that the Kalpa *Sūtras* of the Taittirīya-Samhitā represented or countenanced, more than other Kalpa *Sūtras*, the tenets and decisions of the Mīmāṃsā philosophers

⁶ I may mention, on this occasion, other quotations made by Kumārīla He speaks several times of other *Sākhīs*, without, however, specifying them (fol 9 b, 17 a 33 a 36 b, 41 b, etc etc), once even of a *Krutāsākhī*, (fol 50 a), of older teachers (Pūrveśīryā, fol 42 b—44 a, 85 a, Viddhāśīryā, 119 c), of the *Varāha Sūtras* (fol 75 c, 93 b 120 b), the *Bhāṣhyakīra*, who is probably the same as Śabara (fol 115 a), the *Brāhmaṇa bhāṣya-kīra* (fol 60 b, 83 a, 75 b), the *Gṛhya bhāṣya kīra* (fol. 60 a), the *Hārītābhāṣyakṛt* (fol 76), he names the *Pañcra* (20 a, 23 b,), the *Yajurveda* (fol 9 a and b), and *Yajurvedika* (fol 12 b, 67 a), the *Kāṭhaka* (fol 9 a, 98 b), the *Taittirīyaka* (fol 60 a, 61 b, 66 b) a *Brāhmaṇa* (fol 114 b), and the *Sāmaveda* (fol 9 b), Manu is usually called by him *Sūtrakīra* or *Sūtrakṛt* (e g fol 43 b, 71 b, 75 b, etc, 20 a, 32 a, 35 b, etc) other authors of *Sūtras*, *Sūtrakīras* or *Sūtrakṛtas* (fol 38 a, 77 b)

This intimate connection between the two will enable us, then, not merely to remove all doubt, if any exist, as to the identity of the author of the present commentary with the author of the Vārttikas on the Jaimini-Sūtras,—even if this identity were not proved by the peculiar style of Kumārila's composition, by his writing alternately in prose and *śloka* by his pithy remarks, and his strong expressions, but it will throw light, too, on the nature of the commentary itself

It is not a commentary in the ordinary sense, merely explaining obsolete or difficult words, and giving the meaning of the sentences, it is often nothing else than a regular discussion and refutation of divergent opinions which were probably expressed in other Kalpa works. And the constant use it makes of current *Mīmāṃsā* terms, in their *Mīmāṃsā* sense, such as *apūrvā*, *paramāpūrvā*, *ūha*, *bādha*, to which may be added also, *vidhi*, *anuvāda arthavāda*, *purushārtha*, *kṛtvārtha*, *bheda* (*mantrabheda* *vākya-bheda*), on account of the frequent application these latter words find in the *Mīmāṃsā* writings,—impresses on the discussions of Kumārila the full stamp of a *Mīmāṃsā* reasoning

There is one fact which deserves special mention, though it has only an indirect bearing on the present work. In the *Sūtras*, I 3, 10-12, Jaimini treats of the question whether the Kalpa works have the same authority as the Veda or not, in other terms, whether they must be ascribed to divine or to human authorship, and decides in favour of the latter alternative. Kumārila, in his Vārttikas on this chapter, gives instances of the works of several authors which would fall under this category, he names, in the course of his discussion, the *Sūtras* of Baudhāyana, Varāha, Mafaka, Āśvalāyana, Vaijavāpa, Drāhyāyana, Lātyāyana, Kātyāyana and Āpastamba, but though his *et cetera* imply that he did not intend to give a complete list, it is certainly remarkable that he should not have named the Mānava-Sūtras, which he has commented upon, more especially as he makes reference to the *Dharmaśāstra* of *Manu*

Śabara, also, his predecessor, who mentions, in his *Bhāṣya* on the same *Sūtras* of Jaimini, the Mafaka-, Hāstika-, and Kauṇḍinya Kalpa-Sūtra, does not speak of the Mānava. And, to

conclude, the same omission strikes us in the *Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara* of Mādhava, who names the *Baudhāyana*-, *Āpastamba*-, *Āśvalāyana*-, and *Kātyāyana-Kalpa-Sūtras*, but makes no allusion to our work

It may be, and it even is probable, that Kumārila wrote his gloss on the *Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtra* after he had finished his *Vārttikas*, on the *Sūtras* of Jaimini. But this circumstance alone cannot account for the omission of this *Kalpa* work from his *Vārttikas*, nor does it offer any explanation of the general silence in regard to it of the other renowned writers on the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy

I believe that the reason for this silence must be sought for in the decision of Jaimini, and in the legendary character of Manu, the reputed author of our *Kalpa* work. At the time of Śābara, Manu was no doubt already viewed by his countrymen in the same light in which he appears in the *Dharmaśāstra* that bears his name but professes distinctly not to be the immediate work of Manu himself, and, consequently, could be safely alluded to. This mythical character, however, of Manu results from the legends connected with a personage of this name in the *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa* and the *Rgveda* itself. To prove, therefore, on the one hand, that the *Kalpa-Sūtras* are human work, and to hold before the reader's eye the name of an individual who, if less than a god, was, at all events, believed to be more than a man, would have been a proceeding which might either have shaken the conviction which it was intended to produce, or tinged the doctrine of the propounders with a hue of heresy which certainly neither Śābara, nor Kumārila, nor Mādhava meant to impart to his commentary. Probably, therefore, it appeared safer to evade this awkward illustration of the human character of a *Sūtrakāra*, and to be satisfied with instances of a more tangible and less delicate kind.

From our point of view, however, and I conclude from the point of view of the *Mīmāṃsists* themselves, there is no reason to doubt that a Manu, the author of the present *Sūtras*, was as much a real personage as *Baudhāyana* and the other *Sūtrakāras* who were never raised to a superhuman dignity. I can no more

see a valid argument for doubting the existence of this Manu, because his name would mean, etymologically, "a thinking being, a man," and because mythology has lent this character to the father of the human race, also called Manu, than there would be for doubting the real existence of the Brāhmana caste, merely because they ascribe their bodily origin to the Creator of the World. And as to the name of Manu (man) itself, it does not seem more striking or even more strange than other proper names in the Vaidika time, than, for instance, the proper names *Prāna*, *life*, *Eka*, *one*, *Itara*, or *Anyatara*, *either of two*, *Pañchan*, *five*, *Saptan*, *seven*, *Ashtan*, *eight*, *Śiras*, *head*, *Loman*, *hair*, *Vindu*, *drop*, etc.

To assign a date to the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, even approximately, is a task I am incapable of performing, though, judging from the contents of this work, it may seem plausible to assert that they are more recent than the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and older than those of Āpastamba. But I have not any means of ascertaining when these latter works were composed.

It may not, however, be superfluous to add that they were either younger than Pānini or, at least, not so much preceding his time as to be ranked by him amongst the old Kalpa works. For in an important Sūtra of his grammar he states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*, and it follows therefore that none of the works of this kind, which are likely to be still in existence, and amongst them the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, are, from Pānini's point of view, old Kalpa works.⁷ And when I express the opinion that there is no tenable ground for assigning to Pānini so recent a date as that which has been given to him, viz. the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but that there is on the contrary a presumption that he preceded the time of the founder of the

7 Pānini iv 3, 105. This Sūtra is comprised under the head iv 3 101, which extends as far as 111. In the gloss on some of these Sūtras the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta, and the Calcutta Pandits who composed or compiled the printed commentary, have introduced the word *वरीयते* in addition to *प्रचलति*. I hold, arbitrarily,—since it is neither indicated by the head rule, nor met with in the Mahābhāṣya

Buddhistic creed,—I have advanced as much, as much, or as little, as, I believe, can be safely advanced on the date of the present Kalpa work



After the foregoing lines were written I received Professor Max Muller's '*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brāhmaras (1859)*' To acknowledge the merits of this work, which shows the great importance of the religious development of India, to acknowledge the light it throws on the obscurest parts of Hindu literature, and the comprehensive learning it has brought to bear on many an intricate topic connected with the rise and progress of Hindu grammar, law, and theology, must be the first and not the least gratifying feeling of every one interested in Sanskrit, and more especially in Vaidika philology The greater, however, this new claim of the editor of the Rgveda to our gratitude, the more does his work impose on us the duty of examining, among the topics of which it treats, those, which seem to require additional evidence before they can be considered as having attained a definite settlement I take advantage of this opportunity, therefore, to re-open the discussion on two points, which seem to me to fall under this predicament, especially as they concern every work of the Vaidika literature, and equally bear on the present ritual book I mean the question of the introduction of writing into India,⁸ and the general question of the chronology of Vaidika works⁹

8 Muller's History, P 497—524 This chapter is reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No 11 1859), with the following note which became my first inducement to treat the matter on this occasion 'This paper is an extract from a work now in the press on the history of ancient Sanskrit literature Professor Muller has sent it for the Society's Journal in the hope of eliciting some fresh information from European or native scholars in India on the interesting questions which it discusses

9 The same pp 244, 313, 435, 572

Müller's view on the first of these questions is contained in the following words (p 524) 'If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sūtra period,¹⁰ it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brāhmanas to a written form. Previously to that time, however we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brāhmana literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only,' and (p 507) 'But there are stronger arguments than these (viz, the arguments alleged by him, pp 497-507), to prove that, before the time of Pānini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown. If writing had been known to Pānini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pānini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing etc.'

Müller maintains, therefore, that not merely *before* the time of Pānini, but to Pānini himself, writing was unknown, and ■ according to his view, 'Pānini lived in the middle of the fourth century B C' (pp 245, 301 ff),¹¹ it would follow that, according to him, India was not yet in possession of the most useful of arts at the time when Plato died and Aristotle flourished.

I must confess that I could not, and cannot, look upon this assertion otherwise than as a splendid paradox, which, it is true, makes up for its want of power of convincing by the ingenuity of the defence with which it ■ supported, and the interest which may be derived from the extraneous matter it has brought to its aid, and, had I happened to read this chapter before the rest, I should probably have thought that the idea of conceiving India without reed and ink until, or after, Pānini's death, did not originate with Müller before the close of his learned work, and then only that he might crown, as it were, its merits by some extraordinary feat

10 This period extends, according to his views, from 600 to 200

■ C (p 244)

11 This date will be the subject of ulterior ■ remarks

But though justice requires me to admit that such is not the case, —that, on the contrary, the same opinion pervades the earlier portions of his book,¹² I must still say that it does not seem to have taken root in his mind with that strong conviction which produces an impression on others, for it appears psychologically doubtful that an author, having that conviction, could even metaphorically speak of the 'prayer-book of the Hotrs' (pp 187, 473), or say that Kātyāyana, whom he defines as 'the contemporary of Pāṇini' (p 138, and elsewhere), 'writes in the Bhāṣhya' (p 138), 'wrote the Vārttikas' (p 148), 'writes in prose' (p 229), or that he could call the Sūtrākāras 'writers of Sūtras' (p 215)

No one, I believe, will easily imagine a civilized people who at the time of the Mantras (the period prior to that of the Sūtras and Brāhmanas), were such as to possess 'arts, sciences, institutes, and vices of civilized life, golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, the use of precious metals, of musical instruments, the fabrication of cars, and the employment of the needle — the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine, and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated illusions to the seventh season or intercalary month' and again, 'laws of property,'¹³ 'laws of inheritance, and of simple contract, or buying and selling,'¹⁴ — having a civilisation which Professor Wilson characterises in the preface to his excellent Translation of the Rgveda (vol II, p xvii), as 'differing little, if at all, from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's

12 e.g. p 137, "the rules of the PrSūtrās were not intended for written literature, p 200, note, 'the question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter', p 362, 'if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing' [to 'remember' this on p 362 is difficult since the theory is propounded p 497—524], p 311, 'in India, where before the time of Pāṇini we have no evidence of any written literature etc.'

13 See Wilson's Translation of the Rgveda, vol II p xvi

14 *Ibid* vol III p xvii

invasion,' — no one, I believe, will easily imagine a people in such a state of civilisation unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art be made in the hymns to the gods. And is it really plausible that even 600 or 700 years later, the greatest grammarian of India composed a most artificial and most scientific system of grammar, utterly ignorant of the simplest tool which might have assisted him in his work? Should it be possible to realise an advanced stage of social development without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless, of course, to refer to the arts, sciences, measures, and coins mentioned in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, yet I will advert, within the limits of these preliminary remarks, to one fact, at least, which it may be as well not to overlook.

We know from Herodotus that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, subdued the Hindus,¹⁵ and we have inscriptions of this king himself which tell us that amongst the nations subdued by him were the Gadara and Hidhu or the Gāndhāras, and the peoples living on the banks of the Indus.¹⁶ Could Pāṇini, therefore, who was a native of Gandhāra, had he lived after Darius, as Muller supposes to be the case, have remained ignorant of the fact that writing was known in Persia? And if not, would he not, in composing his work, have profited by this knowledge, provided, of course, that he was not acquainted previously with this art, independently of his acquaintance with the Persian alphabet? This question is answered, however, I believe, by a word which is the subject of one of his special rules (IV 1 49), the word *yavanāni*, explained by Kātyāyana and Patañjali as meaning the 'writing of the Yavanas.' Both Weber and Muller mention this word, the former as meaning 'the writing of the Greeks or Semites' (Ind St I p 144), or, as he later opines, of the Greeks alone (IV 89), the latter (p 521) 'a variety of the Semitic alphabet, which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pāṇini, became the type of the Indian alphabet.' It would seem to me, that it denotes the writing of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writing which was known already,

15 IV 44 μετα ἑ-ου-ους περιτλωσαστα, Ἰνδου-ε-κατιστρεψατο Δαρείος etc

16 Compare Lassen's Ind Alterth 1 422, 11 112, 113, and the quotations given there

before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance, and different enough from the alphabet of the Hindus, to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a separate word

While I intend to address myself now to the special arguments offered by Muller, for the theory that writing was unknown to Pāṇini, I find myself, as it were, arrested by his own words, for, after having proposed his reasons in support of this theory (from page 497 to page 520), he makes the following remark on the word *lipikara*, 'a writer or engraver,' which I quote in full — 'This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini that can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing. He teaches the formation of this word in 2, 21.' Whether it is the only word which can be legitimately adduced for such a proof, I shall have to examine. But even on the supposition that it is, I must really question the purport of the whole discussion, if Muller himself admits that Pāṇini would have pointed to this word *lipikara* had it been his task to defend himself against the imputation of being ignorant of the art of writing. For it becomes obviously immaterial whether the word *lipikara* occurs once or a hundred times in the Sūtras, — whether another similar word be discoverable in his Grammar or not, one word is clearly sufficient to establish the fact, and to remove all doubt. This admission of Muller, which upsets all he has tried to impress upon our minds, is doubtless very creditable to his candour, for it shows his wish to elicit the truth, and fully confirms our faith in what he says at the end of his essay. 'It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pāṇini. If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them.' But since he has not even tried to invalidate by a single word the conclusion which necessarily follows from this admission, it would be like carrying owls to Athens if I endeavoured to prove what is sufficiently proved already by himself.

Nevertheless, I will do so, not only out of respect for his labour, but because the observations I am going to make may

tend to show that there is much more evidence in Pāṇini than this solitary word for the assumption that he was not merely conversant with writing, but that his Grammar could not even have been composed as it is now, without the application to it of written letters and signs

The chief argument of Muller is a negative one the absence of words which mean book, ink, paper, and the like. Thus he says of the Vaidika hymns (p 497) 'Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing,' or (p 512) 'if we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., not one of them has yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity'¹⁷ I do not think that such an argument, in its generality, can ever be held to be a conclusive proof. It is not the purpose of the Vaidika hymns to tell us that pen and ink were known to the Āryas, it becomes, therefore, entirely a matter of chance whether so prosaic an object be mentioned in them or not,—whether the poets borrow their figures from paper and book, or from the life of the elements. The very instances Muller has adduced from the Psalms will probably leave in every one's mind the impression that these songs might easily have existed, without any damage to their reputation, even if they had not contained the three verses which bespeak the scholarship of their authors, and the book of Job too, if it had not that literary longing which is contained in Muller's *happy quotation* 'Oh, that my words were now written' oh, that they were printed in a book!" But what applies to poetical songs, avails with still greater force in a grammatical work. Pāṇini's object is to record such phenomena of the language as are of interest from a grammatical point of view. Sometimes the words which belong to his province, will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest, but it does not follow at all, that because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent from the language also, the extreme con-

17 Not even *lipi* ?

clusion would be that it is a word of no grammatical interest, and this conclusion itself, to be correct, would imply that Pāṇini was a perfect author, and did not omit any word or words which ought to have been noticed by him on grammatical grounds

'There is no word', says Muller, 'for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity' (p. 512). Of *lip* 'to write', I need say no more, since it is the base of *lipi*. I agree with him that the verbs *adhi* (अधी) or *iach* (वच् in the caus.) which are used in the sense 'to read', contain no proof of their applying to a written work, since the former means literally 'to go over mentally, to acquire', and the latter 'to cause to speak'¹⁸. I am equally willing to admit that the divisions of literary works which are frequently met with, such as *anuvāṇas prasnas mandalas -pāṭhas, Vargas sūktas* etc., cannot be compared with such words as *volumen* a volume, *liber*, i.e. the inner bark of a tree, or βιβλος, i.e. *Cyprus*, the inner bark of the papyrus, or *book*, i.e. beech-wood' (p. 515). But I cannot admit that there is no word of genuine antiquity meaning book, or division of book, which cannot be compared with those latter words of the cognate languages. One word is indeed supplied by Muller himself at the end of his essay, it undoes, as it were, all that precedes on this subject, in the same way as *lipikara* undid his arguments against Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing.

After the words I have quoted above, "if so, it is not from any wish to suppress them", he continues (523) "I believe, indeed, that the Brāhmanas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras. And there is one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition. We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters, called *patalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivision of the Brāhmanas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane, it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and βιβλος, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper

18 Thus Pāṇini himself says, V 2, 84, ओत्रियेद्वन्द्वोऽधीने ।

made of the surrounding bark of trees " But he seems to have entirely overlooked—no doubt on account of its common occurrence—the word *kāṇḍa*, which is the name of a division of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and—Brāhmanas, not to speak of the frequent application it has found at a later period in denoting chapters of ritual books, or ritual books themselves, such as *kāmīcślitī-kāṇḍa*, *kāmīya paśu-kāṇḍa*, *paurodāśika-kāṇḍa*, *āgneya-kāṇḍa*, *hautra-kāṇḍa*, *adhvarīu-kāṇḍa*, *jajamāna-kāṇḍa*, *sattra-kāṇḍa*, etc. And *kāṇḍa*, before meaning *book*, means 'the part of the trunk of a tree whence the branches proceed,—a stalk or stem,'—it is therefore, a fair representative of our word *book*. But, if such is the original purport of *patala*, and of the more frequent *kāṇḍa*, I cannot conceive on what grounds Muller founds his doubt (p 513) of *patra* meaning the leaf of a book, in works of genuine antiquity, since *patra* means, originally, the leaf of a tree, and since palm-leaves, even now bespeak the use which has been made of them for literary purposes. For, though Urvāśi writes her amatory letter on a 'birch leaf,'—which, then, is called, not merely *patra*, but *bhūrja-patra*,—it does not follow that ordinary letters of literary works must also have been engraved on what was probably a rarer material than the leaf of a palm tree or of a lotus.

Besides *kāṇḍa* and *patala*, there are, however, two other important words, in the sense of work, which could not but attract the attention of Professor Muller—the words *sūtra* and *grantha*. The former, which means, literally, "string", has become, according to him (p 512), the well-known name of an extensive class of works, by assuming the figurative sense, 'strings of rules'. The latter, he says (p 522), 'is derived from a root *grath*, which means *nectere serere*. *Grantha* therefore, like the later *sandarbhā*, would simply mean a composition. It corresponds etymologically with the Latin *textus*. Thus it is used by the commentator to Nir 1 20, where he says that former teachers handed down the hymns, *granthato'rthataścha*,¹⁹ 'according to their text, and according to their meaning'. In the later literature of India, *grantha* was used for

19 Similarly, = ग, Kullūka on Manu, VII 43, निवेदीयर्थो ग्रन्थ
नक्षत्रसेतुः. See also, 'Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts,' vol II p 175

■ volume, and, in *granthakutī*, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning. But in the early literature *grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work."

That 'Sūtra may have assumed the sense of 'string of rules' before it became the name of a book, ■ possible, but that it must have gone through *this* metaphorical process, and no other — as the certainty with which Muller explains the term would imply, — is not corroborated by any proof he has given, nor is it even plausible. Before, however, I give my own opinion on this word, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain whether the word *Sūtra* — which is used in the singular both as a name for a whole collection of rules, and as a name for a single *sūtra* — denoted, originally, the latter, and then became the designation of the former, or *vice versa*. Thus, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* calls Pāṇini's *Sūtra*, V 4, 151, *gana-sūtram*, and speaks of the five *sūtras* 1 3, 72—76, *śvaritāṅgata itī pañchabhis sūtrair ūtmanepadam etc* *evam pañchasūtrīyam udāhāryam*, and Patañjali says, in the introduction to Pāṇini, *Sūtrārīchāpṛadhyāyāna iśhyate vaiyākaraṇa itī*, 'he who studies the *Sūtras* is termed a grammarian.' But if we examine the use which Pāṇini himself makes of this word, we find that he always used *sūtra* as a term for the whole collection of rules, and not as an expression for a single *Sūtra*. IV 2, 65, *Sūtrāchcha kopadhātī*. IV 3, 110, '*Pārāsarya-silṣṭibhyām bhikṣhu-nata-sūtrayoh*' (where the dual shows that the analysis requires *bhikṣhusūtre* and *natasūtre*). In his Rules, IV 2, 60, and V, 1 58, the number of the word is less clear, since it is part of a compound, yet the instances of Patañjali to the *Vārttikas*, and some explanations of the *Kāśikā* (e.g. *Kālpasūtram adhite Kālpasūtrah*, and *ashīvā adhivādhī parimānam asya sūtrasya aṣṭakam pāṇinīyam*) leave little doubt that it is likewise to be taken there as a singular. In a similar manner it is used in Patañjali's comment on II 3, 66, v 2, *Sobhanā khalu Pāṇineh sūtrasya kṛtī*.¹ It would seem, therefore, since no higher

2 We meet with *Brāhmanas*, the sayings of *Brāhmanas*, with *Sūtras*, the strings of rules' (p. 512.)

21 In the *Sūtra* VIII 3, 90, and the *Gana* to V 4, 29, its sense ■

authority than Pāṇini can be quoted, that *sūtra*—when used

the literal one, it is mentioned, too, as a masculine and neuter in the Gana to II 4, 31—It is necessary for me to observe, that in the quotations from Pāṇini I always distinguish between the text of the Sūtra, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, and those alone can be held to be Kātyāyana's Vārtikas which appear in the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali's Commentary, the Vārtikas found in the Kāśikā and in the Siddhāntalaumudī, and these latter works. The importance of this distinction requires no remark, since all conclusions must become unsafe if the observations or instances of one writer are given as evidence for or against another, especially before it has been decided whether, for instance, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries or not. I regret that Professor Müller has paid little attention to this circumstance, for he has frequently confounded the Commentary, even the latest, with the text of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, and the very circumstance that he has sometimes pointed out the commentary as distinct from the text, and *vice versa*, creates still more confusion where he has omitted to do so. Thus, he quotes correctly (p. 44, note 2), VIII 3, 95 (*text*) or, 'IV 1, 176 (*text*)' or, (p. 45, in the same note), 'VI 3, 98 (*text*)', and I admit that an attentive reader will conclude that the quotations not marked *text* are taken from the commentary, yet, VI 3, 78, is not commentary but text. And what does the word 'commentary' mean? Patañjali, Kāśikā Siddhānta, or the Calcutta Pandits? Again, when he says (p. 69, n. 1) 'It is remarkable that, in Pāṇini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature,' not one of his quotations given to prove this important point, viz., IV 2, 66, 'IV 3, 102, 1 IV 3, 107, 'II 4, 21,' belongs to Pāṇini, but the two former to Patañjali and the two latter to the Kāśikā. On p. 347, n., the *Saṁśodhāna Brāhmaṇa* are attributed by him to Pāṇini himself, but Pāṇini says nothing about them. The instances to the quotations of page 361, n. 3, ('IV 3, 101, IV 2, 64'), and those to n. 4 (IV 3, 108), belong to the Kāśikā,—none to Pāṇini. Nearly all the instances referred to p. 364, n. 3 belong to Patañjali and p. 369, nn., where *com* and *text* are contradistinguished, 'VI 2, 10' is not Pāṇini. P. 370, n. 10, 'IV 3, 104,' ought to have been marked *com*, and a similar confusion exists, pp. 362, 371, 521, 522, etc. while, on the other hand, the *commentary* is correctly quoted in most of the instances of p. 184, 185, 193, 262, 330, 339, 353, 357,

in the sense of a single rule — is *pars pro toto*, and that its ori-

though without any mention whether the commentary of Patañjali, or of the Kāśikā, etc., be meant. The *text* is marked correctly, pp 125, n 2, 310, 368, = 1 (IV 3, 128), 5, 369, n 1 3, 371, n 2, 6, 372, n 2, 8, 373, n 3, and the *gams* correctly, p 369, = 6, 370, n 7, 8, 9, 10, 372, = 8, 373, n 8 — I do not altogether think that this want of accuracy, in a writer like Professor Muller, is entirely the result of oversight, it seems to me, on the contrary that the reason for it lies in the words of his note to p 46 — 'It was impossible to teach or to use Pāṇini's Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are therefore of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiśākhya and in Pāṇini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching.' This coincidence to be of that value which is described in the words quoted, would require first the proof that the Prātiśākhya, viz the existing ones of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana, are *older* than Pāṇini, otherwise, it ceases to be of any consequence, as regards Pāṇini. As to his statement in general however, I must observe, that it can surely not be received as authoritative in the absence of all proof. I must myself on the contrary, quite demur to its admissibility. The coincidences, in the first place, between the instances of the existing Prātiśākhya and those in the Commentaries of Pāṇini, considering the great bulk of the latter, are perfectly trifling. Again, as to the other instances, about 2000 Sūtras of Pāṇini are not criticised by Kātyāyana, nor commented upon by Patañjali, with regard to the instances, therefore, in this considerable number of rules, our oldest authority is nearly always the Kāśikā, the infallibility of which Commentary I have had, sometimes, reason to doubt. Scarcely any instances of this category can be traced to the Prātiśākhya, and, unless it can be proved by Muller that these instances belong to *antiquity*, I do not consider it at all safe to found any conclusions on them, *as regards antiquity*. But on no account can it be consistent with critical research to use even the instances of Patañjali as evidence for or against the Vārttikas, and much less for or against the Sūtras of Pāṇini, since Kātyāyana *never* gives instances, but, like Pāṇini himself, either lays down a general rule, or specifies the words which are the subject of his rule.

ginal sense is that of a whole collection of rules.²² If such be the case the question arises, whether it is the figure implied by Muller's rendering 'strings of rules' that has led to the *sūtra* being used in the sense of 'book', or not. As, I believe, I am able to show that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the art of writing, and that written books had even existed long before his time, my own opinion is, that the name for book was, as in the case of *patala* and *kāṇḍa*, borrowed rather from a material fact than from the metaphorical idea of the logical connection of rules. And here I appeal to evidence, and to the admission which will be made to me that there are peculiarities and habits in the life of nations, which may be supposed to have existed at the earliest times such as we see them now. Everyone who has studied Sanskrit MSS in the libraries of London and Paris, will have found that the oldest specimens of these MSS are written on palm leaves, which are pierced in the middle, and kept together by means of a 'string'. The naturalness of the material of these MSS, and the primitive manner in which they are bound,—if we can use the term 'birding,' for a parcel of leaves, covered on both sides with oblong pieces of wood, and kept together by a *string* which runs through the middle, — bespeak, in my opinion, the habits of high antiquity, religiously preserved up to a recent date by a nation which, beyond all other nations, is wont to cherish its antiquity, and to defend it, even in practical life,

22 Compare also the following passage of the *Viṅśadbhāṣya* (ed. Pallantyne, p. 68) *Patañjali* अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य क पदार्थः । सूत्रम् । *Īṣyāyana* : सूत्रे व्याकरणं पञ्चमर्थोऽनुपपन्नः । *Patañjali* सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपन्नः व्याकरणस्य सूत्रमिति । किं तद्वत्तु व्याकरणम् । वत्सायनः सूत्रं स्यात्, *Īṣyāyana* षष्ठ्यर्थ इति । द्वाभ्यामपि शब्दाभ्यामष्टाध्यायाः प्रतिपादयामि रेवामात्र । सामान्यविशेषशब्दयोस्तु द्वयोः प्रयोगो न विरुध्यते । यदा त्वष्टाध्यायैकदेशः सूत्रशब्देनोच्यते तदा षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपद्यते, *Nāgārjuna* ननु सूत्रसमुदायरस्य व्याकरणस्यैव सूत्रमित्युच्यते न वाह । द्वाभ्यामिति । सूत्रपदनाप्यष्टाध्यायैव यदोच्यते तदा षष्ठ्यर्थेऽप्यप्रयोगः स न सिद्ध्यति त्वर्थः । ननु निमुच्यते षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्न इति पर्यायतया सङ्प्रयोगोऽपि न स्यादत आह । मामात्रविशेषेति । सूत्रसामान्यव्याकरणविशेषः । सूत्रशब्देनाष्टाध्यायैव । तत्रैकदेशे तु योग्यत्वद्वारा एव योगे योगे उपनिषत्तत्त्वादी । यदा त्विति । सूत्रानि जाप्यधीयान इति आद्ये चक्षमाणात्वादिनि मात्र । वस्तुतः षष्ठ्यर्थस्य सूत्रशब्देनैव तस्यापि साक्षात्परम्पर्या, वा व्याकरणशब्दादनुपपत्तिरेवेति न त्वम् ।

against the intrusions of modern arts. The MSS I have seen are certainly not more than a few centuries old, as may be easily inferred from the fragility of the material of which they are composed, but I hold them to be genuine specimens of the manner in which books were formed at the earliest periods of the civilisation of India. No one, however, ought, I should conceive, to be less surprised at seeing the word 'string' becoming the name of 'book,' than a German who would call his own book *Band* translating, as it were, literally, the Sanskrit *sūtra*, and having recourse to the same figure of speech.

Since I contrast, in these remarks, opinion with opinion,—not claiming any greater value for mine than that which may be permitted to the impressions and views of the individual mind,—I will not conceal that I hold the very nature of the works called 'Sūtra,' to have arisen from, and depended on, the material which was kept together by the 'string.' I cannot consider it plausible that these works—"written, as they are, in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form,"—which have been so well defined and described in Muller's work (p 71, ff),—in which, to use his words, "shortness is the great object of this style of composition,"—should have been composed merely for the sake of being easily committed to memory. "To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature," argues Muller (p 74), "was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these *Sūtras* and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses." But, though I do not dispute that these *Sūtras* were learnt, and are learnt, by heart up to this day, this circumstance alone does not explain why the matter thus to be inculcated must have been written in such a manner 'that an author rejoiceth in the enomising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son,' why, 'every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy,' must have become 'reduced to a mere skeleton.' Muller himself says (p 501),—and I fully concur with him,—that we can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian *Parashads* are from our universities. Feats of

memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary." And, as he himself produces proof that the three Vedas and their Brāhmanas were learnt by heart, it does not appear at all likely that the peculiar enigmatic form of this Sūtra literature was invented simply to suit the convenience of a memory the capacities of which must have been extraordinary.

The reason which accounts for this form is, in my opinion, of a far more prosaic kind. I hold that it is the awkwardness, the fragility, and, in some parts of India, perhaps the scarcity of proper natural leaves, which imposed upon an author the happy restraint of 'economising half a short vowel,' that the scantiness of the writing material compelled authors to be very concise, and betrayed them, as a consequence, into becoming obscure.

Vaidika hymns and sacrificial Brāhmanas stand, clearly, under a different predicament to works on grammar or philosophy. A god cannot be invited with *anubandhas* to partake of the sacrificial meal, nor the religious feelings of a nation be roused with hard and unintelligible phraseology, but the purpose of a grammar may be attained, if there be need to save space, by an artificial method, and a philosophical doctrine may be propounded in riddles, as we can testify in our own days. I draw here, of course, a line between genuine and artificial Sūtras,—the former, in my opinion, a creation of material necessity, the latter, a mere imitation when this necessity had ceased. The Sūtras of Pāṇini, in their dignified brevity, and the Sūtras of the Buddhists, in their tedious prolixity, are, probably, the two opposite poles,²³ but it requires,

23 The lamented Burnouf has given a description of these Sūtras, in his invaluable work on the 'Bouddhisme Indien,' p. 36, ff. He particularly points out,—and the fact is important,—that amongst these caricatures of the Brāhmanic Sūtras, there are several which have the enigmatic brevity of the latter, he distinguishes, therefore, between Sūtras which may be attributed to Śākyamuni, and Sūtras which belong to 'subsequent periods.' See 'introduction à l'Historique du Bouddhisme Indien,' p. 104, ff.

I conceive, no great effort to see that there is a gap, even between Pāṇini and the Yoga-Sūtras, nay, between him and the Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta-Sūtras as well as the Nyāya Sūtras and the Sāṅkhya-Pravacana

Turning now to the second word I have mentioned above, with the word Sūtra, I will say at once, that *grantha* likewise appears to me to have become the name of a book, not on account of the connection which exists between the different part of a literary composition, but on account of the connection of the leaves which form its bulk Prof Weber, who makes Pāṇini live about 140 years after Christ,²⁴ but who, nevertheless, is favourable to the view I take of Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing, says in the "Indische Studien," vol iv p 89, that "the word *grantha* which is several times used by Pāṇini, refers according to its etymology, decidedly to written texts," yet he informs us (p 436), that "the word *grantha* is referred by Böhtlingk-Roth to the *composition*" Whether the latter remark is made "*pūjārtham*" or whether this author,—according to his habit of leaving the reader to make his own choice amongst a variety of conflicting opinions,—intended to establish a *vibhāṣā*,²⁵ or whether he has altered his original view is more than I can decide, since he has neither supported his first opinion with any explanatory remark, nor expressed adhesion or dissent when he concluded his fourth volume of the "Indische Studien"²⁶

That *grantha*, according to its etymology, may mean "a literary composition," and that it has been used in that

24 "Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte" p 200, 202

25 Such is really the case in the "Indische Literaturgeschichte," p 183, note

26 Should I have overlooked any observation of his on this word, it would be quite unintentional, since I have been guided in my quotations by the excellent indices he has appended to his volumes All I mean to convey is, that the only justification he gives for the sense, 'written work,' of *grantha*, viz, the etymology of the word, does not appear to be a sufficient one, since Muller is certainly right when he remarks (p 522), that *gran'th*, nectere, screre, might be taken also in a figurative sense

sense, is undeniable, yet I contend that it did not bear this metaphorical sense before it was used in the literal meaning of *a series of leaves* " or, in other words, before it designated a written book. Previously to supporting this opinion with other arguments than those which are implied in my remarks on *sūtra*, I consider it necessary to remove the suspicion which has been thrown by Muller on this legitimate word. He quotes the four *Sūtras* in *Pāṇini* where it occurs²⁷, but

27 Compare also, IV 3, 101, v 2, 105, v 2, the *Āṅgikā* on V 1, 10, v 1 शीदयेयो ग्रन्थ , on IV 2, 62, वाङ्मनसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुवाङ्मनस , on IV 2, 63 असन्मद्वरितो ग्रन्थो वसन्त इत्युच्यते, on III 1, 89, v 1, (a *Vārttika* of the *Bhīradvāṣṭīyas*, according to *Patañjali*) ग्रन्थेन ग्रन्थ , on VII 3, 4 स्वरमधिक्य इतोऽत्र यौवरो ग्रन्थ — Of one of the *Sūtras* he quotes, viz I 3, 75, Muller observes, (p 522) that it is used there "so as to apply to the *Veda* " This remark concerns the commentator, but not *Pāṇini*, who, as he correctly states, a few lines afterwards, uses *grantha* as "opposed to a traditional work " I do not believe that the commentator is absolutely wrong, as will appear from my subsequent remarks, but I think that he might have chosen a better instance. My commentary, however, I do not understand *Patañjali's* *Dhāṣya*, which has no remark on this *Sūtra*, nor the *Āṅgikā*, which has the counterinstance, उपचरति विक्रितो वैद्य , the first trace of this instance I find in the *Siddhānta* (fol 167 a),—uncorrected in the *Praudaḥmanoramā*,—when, it has crept into more recent books, e g, the abridged Commentary of *Āṅgajī* on *Pāṇini's* *Sūtras*. This instance, one of many, will corroborate my statement in note 21, that the compilation of the *Calcutta Pandits*,—however meritorious, and superior to its mutilated and unauthorised reprint,—so far from admitting of being identified with *Pāṇini* himself, ought not to be used as evidence for or against *Pāṇini*, without a knowledge of the source whence it has derived its instances.

I feel grieved that I cannot leave this note without destroying one of the most poetical illusions of Professor Weber, connected with this word *grantha*. From the stream of imaginary narrative which meanders through the desert of his '*Literaturgeschichte*,' emerges, *à propos* of the *Rāmāyana* (p 182), the remark, that this masterpiece of Hindu poetry was probably preceded by some other epic works. To prove that which cannot be proved without a knowledge of the date of the *Rāmāyana*,

remarks in the note of p 45, "The word *grantha*, used in the Sūtra (IV 3, 87) is always somewhat suspicious " The reason for this sweeping doubt is contained, I suppose, in the words which immediately follow "That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pāṇini's Grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaiyaṣa (cf IV 3 131, 132), and in the first note of p 361, where he writes, "Pāṇ, IV 3, 116, कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ Kaiyaṣa says that this Sūtra does not belong to Pāṇini " That there are *three* perhaps *four* Sūtras in Pāṇini's Grammar, which probably did not belong to his work originally, I will concede,²⁸ but amongst these three or four Sūtras out

which we have not,—and without a knowledge of those epic poems, which likewise we have not,—but which is plausible enough without any proof, he quotes Pāṇini's Sūtra, V 3, 88, which treats on the titles of some *grantha*s. Among these *grantha*s (which are, to his imagination, epic poems), is one called *śiṣukandīya*, which therefore is, to him, a forerunner of the Rāmāyaṇa. The same ingenious conjecture occurs in his 'Indische Studien, vol. 1, p 155, where he grows somewhat indignant at Wilson, who, in his Dictionary, renders this term "a work treating of infantile or juvenile grievances, for he adorns Wilson, for this rendering, with a query and note of admiration ("Wilson dict. ? ") Now, whether *śiṣukandīya* ought to have been, by right, the title of an epic poem (in the same manner as we learn, from another work what the words in the Vedas ought to have meant, if they had profited by the last results of Sanskrit and comparative philology), I am unable to say. Nevertheless, I believe that Wilson is right, for the *Kāśikā* explains this word, शिक्षां न हन शिक्षुन्मदन तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शिक्षुकन्दीय, and the *Ganaratna mahadādī* has even an additional remark शिक्षावो बालास्तेष्वन्वयमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शिक्षुकन्दीय । बालपुस्तकम् —It is, in other terms, 'a book for children, written with reference to their cries,'—a kind of nursery book for naughty babies.

28 Dr Otto Loebtingk was the first who drew attention to this fact, in the volume which he has annexed to his garbled and unauthorised reprint of the meritorious labour of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini. In a note of p xx of his Preface, he enumerates seven Sūtras, which, according to him, "were originally Vārttikas, and only at a later time became embodied into the text of Pāṇini," viz, "IV 1, 166, 167, IV 3, 132, V 1, 36 VI 1, 62, 100, 136 " It certainly raises a strong

of 3996, there is no Sūtra containing the word *grantha*, for I believe Muller was mistaken when he says that Kaiyyaṭa

doubt as to the authenticity of a Sūtra, if it occurs also as a Vārttika of Āṭyāyana but I hold the indispensable conditions for confirming such a doubt to be — 1 that the Vārttika must really belong to Āṭyāyana 2 that the wording of the Vārttika must be *identical* with that of the doubted Sūtra, and 3 that both must have the *same tendency*. In the first place, however, we are entitled to consider as Vārttikas of Āṭyāyana only such as occur in, and,—what is invariably then the case,—are commented upon by, the *Ehāshya* of Patañjali. Vārttikas found in the *Āṭyāyana* or *Siddhāntakaumudī*, but not in the *Ehāshya*, may be, and *evidently* are in many instances, the critical additions of later times. They afford no basis for doubting the genuineness of a Sūtra in Pāṇini, nor is a mere remark of Kaiyyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali, that 'some' consider a Sūtra as having been a Vārttika, sufficient to cancel the Sūtra from amongst the original rules. Secondly, if a Vārttika is not worded in the same manner as the Sūtra,—excepting of course, the the usual addition of Āṭyāyana, इति वक्तव्यम् —the mere similarity of both is no sufficient ground for doubting the originality of the Sūtra, for the difference in the wording of the Vārttika may have as it very frequently has, the mere object of criticising the manner in which Pāṇini delivered his rule. Lastly, if the Vārttika and Sūtra are identical in words, but not in tendency, there is not the slightest ground for doubting the authenticity of the Sūtra, though Kaiyyaṭa may historically record that 'some' have preferred to 'throw it among the Vārttikas'. In applying these tests to the enumeration given by Dr Boehtlingk, we find, that IV 1, 166, does not occur literally in the Vārttika 3 of IV 1, 163, for, though the Calcutta editors write वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम्, and append their mark, that it occurs in the *Siddhānta* (the printed edition of this work contains on p. 66a, line 1, the words वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्),—the wording of this Vārttika, in the *Ehāshya* is (MS., E I H, 330), वृद्धस्य च पूजाया युवसता वक्तव्यम् * (probably युवसतेति वक्तव्यम्), but even if the additional words belong, as is possible, not to the Vārttika, but to the *Ehāshya*, it is clear that the tendency of the Vārttika and that of the Sūtra are not identical, for, in the Vārttika, the rule is *absolute*, while in the Sūtra, IV 1, 166, it is *optional*, through the *anuvṛtti*

* Benaras Edn. reads वक्तव्या ।

acknowledges that the Sūtra IV 3, 116 did not belong to Pāṇini, I have not been able to discover anywhere, in the Mahābhāṣya, either by the aid of my memory or my indices, that Kaiyāta expresses any opinion whatever on this Sūtra, but even should the mistake be mine, there would be little impor-

of the preceding वा IV 1, 163 Therefore, Patañjali comments on the Vṛtika in question, तत्रमवतो गार्वायणा । तत्रमव त्वा वात्स्यायना without the option recorded by the Kāśikā on IV 1, 166, in the instances, तत्रमवतो गार्वायणे गार्वा वा । वात्स्यायनो वात्स्यो वा । दाश्यायणे दाक्षिर्वा — A similar negative conclusion applies to IV 1, 167 The Vṛtika mentioned by the Calcutta editors, to IV 1, 162, does not occur in the Bhāṣya, it is not identical, even in the Siddhānt, with the Sūtra, IV 1, 167, it has not the same tendency as the Sūtra, the latter being optional, the former absolute There is no ground, consequently, for doubting that the 'some of Kaiyāta, who maintain the antiquity of the Sūtra, are correct — IV 3, 132, is suspicious, for it occurs as a Vṛtika in the Bhāṣya to IV 3, 131, and fulfils the three above-named conditions, equally so V 1, 36, which is a Vṛtika to V 1, 35, and VI 1, 62, which occurs as a Vṛtika to VI 1 61 On the other hand, VI 1, 100 need not be rejected absolutely for its wording is not identical with that of the Vṛtika of VI 1 99, nor is it clear that both coincide in tendency VI 1, 99, restricts the rule to the condition of the word इति following a combination like पदस्यन्, VI 1, 100, exempts a similar combination, if ending in ऽच् from this condition (comp V 4, 57) it would seem, therefore that the Vṛtika to VI 1, 99, maintains the condition, but corrects the option वा by the word नित्यम् I must admit however, that Patañjali gives the instance पदपदायनि, which would countenance the probability of this Sūtra, also, not being an original one Lastly, the Sūtra VI 1, 136, अद्वयमन्वयायेऽपि neither occurs as a Vṛtika in the Bhāṣya, nor even as a Vṛtika in the Kāśikā or the Siddhānt, nor has its original existence, in fact, been doubted by anybody except Dr Eoehlingk, who write in his so-called Commentary (p 256), "This Sūtra has been interpolated at a later time, it owes its origin to the following two Vṛtikas to the preceding Sūtra, गन्धबाध उपसर्गानम् ॥ १ ॥ अन्वयमन्वयाये च ॥ २ ॥ Compare Siddhānt p 144a where, however, the reader will not find anything relating to the subject, while, on p 145a he will discover the Sūtra, IV 1, 136, such as it is in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini That both Vṛtikas are

tance in the mere doubt of Kaiyyāṭa, since Patañjali, when commenting on the Vārttikas to IV 3, 105, distinctly quotes twice the Sūtra IV 3, 116, which is a positive proof that it existed at his time, and was genuine enough²⁹

I will now give an instance from the Mahābhārata, which, in my belief, would be perfectly unintelligible, if *grantha* were taken only in the sense of 'composition,' and not also in that of 'written book' or 'volume' I am met here, however, with an objection, viz., that I ought first to show that the Mahābhārata possesses the qualification which Muller has appended to his quoted remark, or, in other words, that it is a work of 'the early literature,' since he says that '*grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, in the early literature,' while he admits that it has that sense in the later literature Both Muller and Weber agree that there was a Mahābhārata at the time of Āśvalāyana, since they quote a passage from his Grhya-Sūtra, where the name occurs (Muller, p 42, Weber, 'Literaturgeschichte,' p 56), and neither denies that a work prior to Āśvalāyana would have a claim to be called a work of the earlier literature Both scholars however question,—and very rightly too,—the claim of the *present* Mahābhārata, to having been *that*

a criticism of Āśvalāyana, who clearly disapproved of the condensed wording of the Sūtra 136, did not even occur to the mind of Dr Boehtlingk, but, considering the condition of his knowledge of Pāṇini, as displayed in this 'Commentary,' and even in his very last work, I cannot but express the belief that his 'εὐτοὺς ἐλά' to strike out a Sūtra of Pāṇini, goes for very little indeed,—especially as it touches upon the sphere of reasoning

29 There is no Bhāṣya on IV 3, 116, and, therefore, no commentary of Kaiyyāṭa on this Sūtra On the Vārttika 2, to IV 3, 105, कृते ग्रन्थे मशिकादिभ्योऽण् which is a criticism on Pāṇini IV 3, 116, on account of the addition, मशिकादिभ्योऽण्, and, therefore, a proof that the latter Sūtra was originally existing, Patañjali says कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यथ (1 c, IV 3, 116) मशिकादिभ्योऽण् वक्तव्यम् । मशिकामि कृत माशिकम्, and on a third Vārttika योगविभागात्पिङ्गम् which is not printed in the Calcutta edition, he observes योगविभाग उचितेति । कृते ग्रन्थे (IV 3, 116) तद सङ्ख्याम् (IV 3, 117) न कृत इत्येतिमर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ।

Mahābhārata which is quoted by Āśvalāyana. It is, of course, impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to everyone who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature. To do justice to a subject of this kind, I should have not merely to enter into details which would be here out of place, but to discuss the prior important question, as to how far the printed text in which this colossal epos is generally known to us, may be relied upon, and I should feel all the more bound to do so, as my collations of considerable portions of this text with the best MSS, in this country and abroad, fully convince me that it is neither advisable to make a translation of the Mahābhārata,—a labour which, if done once, should be done once for all,—nor to found a detailed criticism of the several portions of this work, on the printed text, however much I admire the industry, patience, and scholarship, of those who have accomplished the task of laying before us a first edition of this enormous work. Without their labours, it would have been still more difficult than it now is, to perceive the defects of the MSS, but this tribute, which I gladly pay to their merits, does not dispense with my expressing the conviction, derived from my own labours, that no conclusion founded on special passages of the present text, is safe, before the differences of the MSS—sometimes great—are thoroughly sifted and discussed with the help of the Commentaries³⁰

³⁰ Weber (‘Indische Studien,’ I p 148) and Müller (pp 44, 45, note) give a valuable synopsis of the leading characters of the Mahābhārata, as they occur in the text and the commentaries of Pāṇini. This synopsis, I conceive, must convince, even the most sceptic, that Pāṇini cannot have ignored the renown of these personages, nor consequently, it is probable, the real or poetical events on which the renown was founded. It forms the subject matter of the Mahābhārata. Some stress has been laid by both scholars on the circumstance, that the name Pāṇdu or Pāṇdava does not occur in the Grammar of Pāṇini (Weber, ‘Indische Studien,’ p 148, Müller, p 44) but, since both have cons-

In proceeding now to give an instance which I hold to belong to the early (though not the earliest) portions of the Mahābhārata, I must submit, therefore, to having its validity acknowledged or rejected, according to the value the reader may attach to my opinion. Not to be misunderstood, however, I will add that I consider it as posterior to Pāṇini. But, as the date I shall assign hereafter to this grammarian will be older than the date originated by Dr Boehtlingk, the passage in question will still be entitled to rank among the earlier literature. In the *Sāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata we read ³¹ "Vasishṭha spoke (to Janaka), 'The doctrines of the Vedas and the (philosophical) Śāstras which thou hast uttered, are rightly uttered by thee, but thou understandest them not, for the text (*grantha*) of the Vedas and Śāstras is possessed by

tructed their list as well from the *Ganas* and commentaries as from the *Sūtras*, it will not be amiss to add, that *Pāṇḍava* occurs in Kaiyyata's gloss on Patañjali to IV 1, 168, v 4, and in the *Kaṣikā* on IV 1, 171, when the observation of the former implies, what I pointed at in a former remark, that the word *Pāṇḍu* does not occur in the *Vārttika*, as the name of Yudhisṭhira's father, because the word *Pāṇḍava* is too common a derivation to require a grammatical rule, *Vārttika*, पाण्डोर्हृण् वक्तव्य — Patañjali, पाण्डव — Kaiyyata पाण्डोरिति । वाङ्मादिप्रसृत्यु (IV 1, 96, etc) येषां दर्शने लौकिके शोचमात्र इति (words of Patañjali on a previous *Vārttika*) वचनालक्षिष्ठिरिति पाण्डोरग्रहणादिति । पाण्डव इत्येव यदिति — *Kaṣikā* on the same *Vārttika* (differently worded, quoted in the Calcutta edition, under the Sutra IV 1, 168, in the MSS; under IV 1 171), वा ऋ । अन्वयः, पाण्डव एव The word पाण्डव occurs in the *Kaṣikā* on the *Gana* IV 1, 123

31 V 11339—11342 (the corrections are founded on the com. and MSS)

यदेतदुक्तं मया वेदशास्त्रनिश्चयम् ।

एवमेतत्तथा चैतन्न गृह्णाति (for चैत्रिगृह्ण) तथा मया ॥

धार्यतं हि त्वया अथ उभयोर्वेदशास्त्रयोः ।

८ च ग्रन्थस्य तत्त्वज्ञो यथावेत्त (for यथा च त्व) नरेभ्यः ।

यो हि वेद च शास्त्रे च ग्रन्थमरणतत्परः ।

न च ग्रन्थार्थवदणमस्य तद्वारणं कृत्वा ॥

मात्रं न वदते तस्य ग्रन्थस्वार्थं न वेत्ति यः ।

यस्तु ग्रन्थार्थवत्त्वज्ञो नास्य ग्रन्थार्थो वृत्तः ॥

thee, yet king, thou dost not know the real sense of the text (*grantha*) according to its truth, for he who is merely bent upon possessing the text (*grantha*) of the Veda and Śāstra, but does not understand the real sense of the text, his possession of them is an idle one, he carries *the weight of the book* (*grantha*) who does not know the sense of it, but he who knows the real sense of the text (*grantha*), his is not an idle acquisition of the text' ' In this instance, *grantha* is used in its double sense, composition or text, and *book*, for there can be no doubt that in the passage, *Bhūram sa vahate tasya grantha-sya,* 'he carries the weight of the *grantha*, the last word can only refer to the material bulk of the book

I will conclude my observations on this word with a remark on the phrase, *granthato rthascha*, which must undoubtedly be rendered in the sense proposed by Muller, 'according to the text and according to the meaning' An analogous contrast, exactly in the same sense, is that of *kānda* and *padārtha* which is of frequent occurrence in Mīmāṃsā writers³² That, in the latter case, the meaning 'text' is a secondary one of *kānda* no one will dispute, since there is nothing in this word which points to 'composition' It must be allowable therefore to conceive, that its synonyme *grantha* may, through the same mental process as *kānda* have assumed the secondary meaning of 'text'

There is another important word which Muller will not admit as evidence of Pāṇini's having had a knowledge of writing,—for it is used by this grammarian,—the word *varna* But the only reason he gives for invalidating its testimony is that this word which, etymologically and otherwise, really means 'colour'—when having the sense of letter 'does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice (p 507) In the absence of any proof for this assertion, he adds, in a note: 'Aristotle, Probl x 39 α εἰς γράμμα-α τὰθῆ ἐστὶ - ἵς φησὶ In this

32 E g in Mādhyama's Jaiminīya-nyāya-mūlā-vistara, where कण्ठानुसमव = contrasted with पदार्थानुसमव, for instance, V 2, 1, , 3, 4, 5, 6, , etc etc

respect he coincides, for once, with Weber, not merely in the point at issue, but also in the remarkable brevity of his argument. For all that Weber says on the subject ('Indische Studien,' iv 109) is 'The name *varna* is probably (wohl) to be understood of the 'colouring,' specializing (*specialisierung*) of the sound, compare *rakta*, which is employed in the *Rkprā-tisākhya* in the sense of 'nasalised' (*nasalirt*). With writing it has nothing to do.' Now, I confess, that I always become somewhat suspicious when I meet with a definition which prefers the language of similes to plain prose. How, I must ask, for instance, does the figure of colouring apply to the notion of specialising? It is striking, moreover, that Weber, who starts with a *probability* in two lines reaches a positive certainty, founded only on the analogy of *rakta*. And, in turning again to Muller's words, I must, in the first place, ask, what does an analogy taken from Aristotle prove for the Sanskrit word? But, supposing it could prove anything, would it not be more plausible to make use of it in favour of the contrary conclusion to that which Muller has drawn? Aristotle speaks of *γράφματα*, which word applies originally to none but written signs, and if he may apply *γράμμα* to the voice, might not the same liberty be claimed for a Sanskrit word meaning a written letter? Again, the notion of 'colouring,' itself supposes necessarily a condition which may be called indifferent or colourless. green, blue, red, are colours, because there is an indifferent condition, called white. A coloured sound is not intelligible, except on the supposition that there is also an indifferent, or uncoloured sound. Hence we speak, for instance, in modern terminology, of *i, u, r, e, a* etc., as coloured vowels, because we contrast them with the fundamental uncoloured vowel *a*. But I shall show that *varna* is applied indifferently to all vowels, inclusive of *a*.

I do not dispute that *varna* is used like *γράμμα*, 'letter,' also for the spoken letter,³³ but I hold that there is strong evidence to prove that its primitive sense is that of *written*

33 Thus Nagojibhatta explains, in the commencement of the *Viva-rana*, नादी वण , or Kaiyyata says घोषवन्तो ये वणो etc.

letter, as arising naturally from its primitive sense 'colour,' and that the appearance of this word in Pāṇini or other authors, may serve as one of many arguments that they practised the art of writing To make good this statement I must advert to another word which may also mean letter, and in this sense is always the latter part of a compound, the former of which is the letter itself designated by it, viz, the word *kāra* e.g. *a-kāra*, the letter *a* *i-kāra* the letter *i*, etc It corresponds with *varna*, in the synonymous expressions, *a-varna* *i-varna* etc Kātyāyana looks upon it in the light of an affix, probably on account of its being always compounded with the letter itself, and Kaiyyata enlarges upon the expression *varna* in saying that this word means in the Vārttika quoted, 'that which expresses a *varna* or adequately realizes a *varna* (i.e., is the adequate value of a *varna*)' He, therefore, like Kātyāyana, contrasts the purport of *kāra* and *varna*, though *a-kāra* and *a-varna* *i-kāra* and *i-varna* may appear to be,—and we shall see from what reason,—convertible terms³⁴ To understand, however, this contrast, and the use of two other terms which I shall have to name, I will first give instances from Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and the Bhāṣhya, which will illustrate the manner in which these grammarians have used both terms

We find *a-kāra*, Śivas 1, v 1 (omitted in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini), II 4, 30, v 4,, IV 4, 128, v 2, III 3, 108, v 3, P, —*a-kāra* Śivas 1, v 1 (om Calced), I 1, v 4,

34 Vārttika 3, III 3, 108 वर्णात्कार, Patañjali—वर्णात्कारमवयो वक्तव्यः । अकार इकार, Kaiyyata—वर्णादिति वर्णवाचिनो वर्णानुकरणादित्यर्थः । बहुलप्रवृत्त्यात्कश्चित् भवति । अस्य च्वादिने (VII 4, 32) यथा नवा वचिद्वगममुदया नुकरणादपि एवकार इति To remove the apparent strangeness of the manner in which I have rendered अनुकरण which usually means "imitating, doing in conformity with," I subjoin two other instances from Kaiyyata, where the same word is also used by him in the sense of "adequate, or real value" Kātyāyana having given this derivation of अक्षर, 'मदनोत्तेवा सरोक्षरम्,' and Patañjali having added मदनोत्तरा पुनरवमोणादिक सरन्प्रत्यय, Kaiyyata observes मदनोत्तेवेति । सरन्प्रत्ययस्यानुबन्धलोपे कृतेऽनुकरणे सर इति etc, or सर्वधामकाराणां यत्सामान्यं तदनुकरणमत्राकारः ।

I 1, 56, v 11, III 1, 8, P, VI 1, 87, kār 2 P, —i-kāra, III 3, 108, v 3, P, IV 4, 128, {v 2, —i-kāra VII 1, 39, v 3, VIII 2, 15, v 1 P, —u-kāra VI 1, 185, par 1 P, —r-kāra, P on Śivas 2 and Vārtt (om in the Calc ed), I 1, 9, v 2, VI 1, 101, v 1 P, VIII 4, 1, v 1, —kāra VI 1, 87, v 1 (om Calc ed), —l-kāra, P on Śivas 2, Śivas 4, v 5, (om Calc ed), I 1, 9, v 2, VI 1, 101, v 2, P, —e-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 3 (om Calc ed), IV 3, 23, v 6, —o-kāra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 3 (om Calc ed), V 3, 72, v 1, VII 2, 1 v 1, 2, 3, VIII 3, 20, v 1, —au-kāra, VIII 2, 89, P, —ka-kāra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4, 5 (om Calc ed), VII 3, 44, v 1 P, —na-kāra, I 3, 12, v 1 P, —cha-kāra P on III 1, 8, —jha-kāra, and ña-kāra, P on = Vārtt to Śivas 8 (om Calc ed), —na-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 6 (om Calc ed), VI 1, 1, v 10, VI 4, 120, v 1, VIII 3, 55, v 1 P —ta-kāra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4 (om Calc ed), VII 2, 48, v 1, —tha-kāra, P on VII, 4 46 da-t-kāra and pa-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4, —dha-kāra, VIII 3 78, v 1, P and v 3, —na-kāra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 2, —bha-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 8 (om Calc ed), V 3 72, v 1, —ma-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 7, —ja-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 6, —la-kāra, I 3, 3, v 2, —ia-kāra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5, —sa-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5, —sha-kāra VI 1, 1, v 10, —sa-kāra V 3, 72, v 1, —ha-kāra P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5 (all these Vārtt to the Śivas om in the Calc ed)

On the other hand a-iarra, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 1 (om Calc ed), IV 1, 1, v 3, VI 3, 97, v , (not of K, but mentioned in P), VIII 3, 64, v 3 VIII 1, 82, v 2, and in the Sūtras VI 1, 182, VI 2, 90, VI 3 112, —i-iarra P on a Vārtt to the Śivas 1 and 3 (om Calc ed), VII 2, 10 P, VIII 2, 106, v 1 P, Sūtra VII 4, 53, u-iarra P on = Vārtt to Śivas 1 (om Calc ed), V 3 83, v 5 and Kār 1, VII 2, 10 P, VIII 2, 106, v 1 P, —iarra y (or i-iarra) Sūtra VII 4, 53³⁵

35 The instances quoted are restricted, as I have stated, to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the Vārttikaś of Kātyāyana, as they occur in the Dhātuya

The foregoing combinations of a letter of the alphabet with *kāra* and *varna* are, I believe, all that occur in the grammarians named, and they show at once, that *kāra* enters into composition with all vowels and all consonants, provided the latter are *followed by the letter a*—(for it may be assumed without risk that the absence of some combinations, such as *kha-kāra gha-kāra* etc. is merely a matter of chance, not of necessity, compare the additional instances of the note 35)—while *varna* is joined merely to vowels and to such consonants as are *without a vowel sound*³⁶ (cf. Sūtra, VII 4, 53)

This circumstance is significant, but at once intelligible, if we draw a distinction between a spoken sound and a written letter. To sound a consonant (*k, t, p,* etc.) we

of Patañjali, and to the latter, (marked P) Some of the above named Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, "ह्रस्व," or "Siddh -k," but they occur, too, in the Phāṣhya. These instances might have been multiplied, and had it been necessary to add quotations from the ह्रस्विक, Siddh k, or the words of the Calcutta editors for by *ra-kāra* VI 1, 91, ह्रस्विक, Kaṣyapa on Sivas 5 —*tha-kāra*, VIII 3, 7, ह्रस्विक, VIII 3, 34, ह्रस्विक, VIII 4, 54, ह्रस्विक, —*dha-kāra*, VIII 3, 55, ह्रस्विक —*tha-kāra*, I 2, 23 ह्रस्विक, VIII 3, 7, ह्रस्विक, VIII 3 34, ह्रस्विक —*ra-kāra*, VIII 2, 16, ह्रस्विक, —*pha-kāra*, I 2, 23, ह्रस्विक VIII 4 54, ह्रस्विक, —*sa-kāra* I 3, 8, ह्रस्विक, —or *varna* I 1, 9 v 1, Siddh -k, V 3, 83 v 5, ह्रस्विक, (thus quoted in the Calcutta edition, but not met with in the MSS 2441 of the EIH), VIII 4, 1, v 1, ह्रस्विक and Siddh -k, —*ti-kāra*, I 1, 9, v 1, Siddh k. The very unusual *ra-kāra* in the Commentary to VII § 16 (it occurs chiefly in mystical, not in grammatical, works, e.g. in the dialogue between Umā and Siva of the Rudrayāmala tantra), I must leave to the responsibility of the Calcutta editors, for the Phāṣhya on the Vārttika does not speak of the letter *ra*, and the ह्रस्विक and Siddh k have, instead of *ra-kāra*, the usual *repha-kāra*. I have omitted, of course, to quote passages of the Sūtras, etc., where *varna* or *kāra* have other meanings than "letter."

36 Pāṇini never uses *varna* of a consonant followed by the vowel *a* but the late ह्रस्विक writes श्रम ह्रस्वैनी वर्णौ, or घट्ट इ वेना-वर्णान् or इवगट्ट ह्रस्वैना वर्णान्, if the MSS are to be trusted

must combine it with a vowel, in writing, we may omit that vowel, and should omit it, unless it have its own peculiar value the spoken *k* has a different value to the written *ka*, which means *k* and *a*. Unless, therefore, Pāṇini intended, for instance, to give a rule on *y* and *a*, he could not employ a term *ya*, which merely refers to the spoken sound *y*, or, if he did so, he would have had to give a special rule to the effect that the sound *a* in this combination is mute or insignificant, as he has given various rules to a similar effect when he employs for his technical purposes *anubandhas* or letters without significance. Now, such a rule on the suppression of vowels which appear in his grammar, but are not to be sounded when the word with which they are combined becomes a spoken word, is given by him (1.3.2), but for a distinct and special purpose, and not with the intent of general application, a vowel, such as it is treated in this rule, is (and ought to have been always edited with the appropriate sign) *anunāsika*. Therefore, when Pāṇini gives a rule in which the vowel *a* is appended to a consonant, but valueless,—though the absence of its value would not follow from the rule quoted (1.3.2) or otherwise,—the commentators notice such an exceptional case as worthy of a special remark, and defend it in their fashion if they deem it advisable³⁷. In other words, expressions like *a-kāra* *i-kāra*, *u-kāra* etc., and *a-varṇa* *i-varṇa*, *u-varṇa*, etc., are equivalent, because the value of a spoken vowel coincides with that of the written vowel-sign, they admit of a doubt whether *kāra* or *varṇa*, or both or neither, apply to a written sign, but when we see that *sa-kāra* *bha-kāra*, *na-kāra* *sha-kāra* *ta-kāra*, etc., are portions of rules, in which not *sa* *bha*, *na* *sha*, *ta*, etc. but *s*, *bh* *n* *sh* *t*, etc., are meant, we perceive at once that *kāra* must apply to the uttered sound. On the other hand, when Pāṇini speaks (VII 4, 53) of two *varṇas* *y*, *i* *e* of a *varṇa* *y* and of a *varṇa* *i* we must conclude

37 The *Āṅgīrṣī* *e* *g*, observes on the *Sivasūtra* अन् — इकारादिभ्यकार
 न्माणां नानुबन्ध । इकारे स्वकारोऽनुनासिक इत्यस्य प्रतिपादन, or the *Sūtra*
 VII 1 25 अद्दृष्टे where the first अ is mute, is excused by *Āṅgīrṣya*
 in this way मिद स्वनामिकोपधात् ।

that *varna* did not apply to the spoken sound, but to the written sign, since the vowel would be unpronounceable

I will give some additional proof for this conclusion on the meaning of both these words. In the foregoing remarks I rendered *lāra* in combination with *i u sa* etc 'letter,' since we use this word in its double acceptation, uttered sound and written sign. If *lāra*, however, is the uttered sound, it will be a synonyme of *śabda*, and we find it therefore, ■ g in the comment of the *Kāśikā*, used as a convertible term with *śabda*³⁸. *Thus is never the case with varṇa*

Since an uttered sound may comprise more than *one* letter, we find *lāra* as Kaiyyata already remarks (compare note 34), equally applied to complicated sounds, e g *eva lāra* (III 4, 67, v 3 and 6, 1 4, 8 *Kāś*, VI 2 80 P), and Pāṇini, who never uses it for expressing a simple letter-sound (because his terms are such as apply to a written book), applies it to the sound *vaśat* in *vaśat-kara* (I 2 35) *Varna is never used in a similar manner*

In this respect *lāra* coincides with the term *karana*, which occurs in combinations quite analogous, e g, *iti-karana*, I 1, 44, v 1, P, IV 2, 21, v 2, P, *duḥ-karana*, VII 1, 25, v 3, *dit-karana*, VII 1, 25, v 4, 3, 118, v 6, *chut karana*, III 1, 8, v 4, P, or even combined with *lāra*, as *evaklāra-karana*, VI 2, 80, *Kāś*, etc. *Varna*, on the contrary, is used by Kātyāyana and Patañjali in the same manner as in Pāṇini's Sūtra which speaks of the *varṇa*, viz., of *unutterable consonantal sounds* which therefore must have been written signs. Thus, a discussion is raised by Kātyāyana on the Sūtra VI 4, 49, which treats of the elision of *ya*, in reference to the question whether *ya* is to be dropped or merely *y*, and on this occasion he calls the

38 Pāṇini (VIII 2, 37) uses the expression *सर्वो*, which is rendered by the *hāṅkṣ* सर्वारे *व्यञ्ज* च. The word *व्यञ्ज* is used in a similar manner, e g in these combinations: *विश्वञ्ज*, VI 2, 81, *ह्रस्वञ्ज* (ति being there the last syllable of *शिति*), *वृश्चञ्ज*, VI 2, 50, *ह्रस्वञ्ज* (वृ being affix), *अञ्ज*, VII 1, 25, v 4, P (अञ् being the ending of pronouns in the neuter), *व्यञ्ज* VII 1, 30, v 1, P (यञ् being the declension ending)

former *sanghāta*, "combination," (viz., of *ṛ* and *a*), and the latter *varṇa*. In a *Vārttika* to VII 3, 50, a similar discussion is started on *tha*, again, *tha* is called there *sanghāta*, and the unpronounceable *th*, *varṇa*. The same term *sanghāta* is applied to *la* in a *Vārttika* to VII 3, 44, and *varṇa* to the vowelless *l*.

The same sense of *varṇa* is conveyed by a definition of Patañjali concerning the term *upadeśa*, which literally means demonstration, and then assumes the special sense of grammatical mode of denoting, or of grammatical appearance, and of the book in which such grammatical denotations occur³⁹ it means, for instance, the grammatical appearance of the radicals in the *Dhātupāṭha*, or the *Dhātupāṭha* itself, and, in like manner, the grammatical appearance of the letters in the *Śiva sūtras*, "the root of Pāṇini's Grammar," as Nāgojibhatta calls them. For when Kātyāyana, in several introductory *Vārttikas*, enlarges on the purpose of the letters, as they occur in the

39 Patañjali on the Sūtra I 3, 2 किं पुनरुपदेशनम् ? शास्त्रम् ।
A *Vārttika* on I 3, 3 सिद्धं तु व्यवतिगन्त्यत्वात्, on which Patañjali comments मिदमेतत् । कथम् । -यवमित्यात्यत्वात् । व्यवतिगन्त्यत्वा इति तस्यो भवति ।
वक्तव्यम् । (Kaiyāyana, says Patañjali, ought rather to have said ५०
भवति, these latter words of Patañjali have been mistaken by the Calcutta editors for the *Vārttika* itself, and they of course again make their appearance in the reprint of Dr Boehtlingk, who besides, and for the sake of greater clearness, adds "Ein *Vārttika*", and prints ०२५, as if he had looked into the *Mahābhāṣya* and amended the "*Vārttika*" from the original work — Patañjali then continues) किं पुनरुपदेशनम् ।
धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातमादेशा — On account of the double sense of *upadeśa*, "book, etc." and "grammatical appearance," Patañjali raises this question when speaking of the Sūtra VI 1, 45 कथमिदं विज्ञायते ।
एवम् उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारान् यदुपदेश इति, when Kaiyāyana is still more explicit कथमिति । यदोपदेशश्च न कथमाशयेन शास्त्रमुच्यते तदा विग्रहस्यानुपादानादव नास्ति तदन्वविधित्वस्य पक्षो भवति एवम् उपदेश इति । यदा तु कर्मसाधन उपदेशश्च उपदिश्यमानार्थवाची वृत्तयो च सम्पद्यी ततोपदेशस्यैवाविशेषगतादन्विषा वित्त्वा पक्षो भवति एवम् यदुपदेश इति — A similar question of Patañjali occurs in his com. on VI 1, 186 अनुपदेश इति कथमिदं विज्ञायते । अकारो य उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारान् यदुपदेश इति ।

Śivasūtras, Patañjali asks ⁴⁰ "Now, what is *upadeśa*, or technical denotation? Pronunciation. How is that? The radical *dis*, 'to show,' (whence *upa-deśa* is derived) implies the act of pronouncing, for, after having pronounced the *varnas*, one may say, 'these *varnas* are *upadiśta*, or technically denoted'" Patañjali distinguishes, therefore, between *varnas*, and *upadiśta-varnas*, only the latter are, according to him, the pronounceable *varnas*, and it would have been useless for him to draw this distinction, if *varna* itself originally signified the spoken letter.

What the *simple* consonantal sound is to the pronounceable consonant, the *simple* vowel is, in some measure, to the diphthong or combined vowel sound. It is, perhaps, on this ground that, while we find a general name for vowel-letters, viz., *śara-varna* (IV 1, 3, v 7), the compounds *e-varna*, *o-varna*, *ai-varna*, *au-varna*, neither occur in Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana, for *e* is *a* and *i*, *o* = *a* and *u*, *ai* = *a* and *e*, *au* = *a* and *o*. Their general name is, in "older grammars," *sandhi-akshara*, and in Kātyāyana and Patañjali, for *e* and *a*, *prasliṣṭa varna* for *ai* and *au*, *samāhāra varna* ⁴¹. The Kāśikā, it is true, speaks of these vowels simply as *varnas*, ⁴² but, in the first place, it does not form a compound *e-varna*, etc., like *i-varna*, etc., and, secondly, however great the value of this commentary, it cannot always be considered as fulfilling the conditions of critical accuracy, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence against Pāṇini or Kātyāyana. But even if there were in Pāṇini's Grammar such compounds as *e-varna*, *o-varna*, their occurrence would not invalidate the conclusion that *varna* represents the

40 Patañjali on the Introduction अथ क उपदेश । उच्चारणम् । कुत एतत् । दिशिः उच्चारणक्रिय । उच्चार्य हि वर्गानाऽ । उपदिष्टा इमे वर्गा इति ।

41 Kaṭyāyana to Patañjali on Śivas 3 and 4 सच्चक्षुराणीत्यन्वर्थं पूर्वोक्तार्थसङ्गता । Whether this term "older teachers" applies to the present Prāśastakhyas where the same term occurs, or not, will be included in the subsequent discussion on the relation of these works to Pāṇini's grammar — Patañjali on the same Śivas इमावेचो समाहारवर्गौ the same on I 1, 9 (ए ओ) प्रसिद्धवर्गवैतौ ।

42 Kāśikā on the Śivas 3 ए ओ इत्येते वर्गौ , on Śivas 4 : ऐ औ इत्येते वर्गौ ।

written sign, since it is the combination of *varna* with a consonant that alone can enable us to decide the question at issue. And that there are other values in Pāṇini which could not have been spoken, though they are an essential portion of his Grammar, will be seen afterwards.

How far *varna* coincides, and is synonymous with *akshara*, "syllable," or not, is obvious: it coincides with the latter term when it means vowel, otherwise not.⁴³ The distinction between these terms may therefore be comprised in the following definition. *lāra* denotes the pronounceable sound, which *must* always be one syllable, but may also consist of more than one syllable; if denoting one syllable, it may mean a simple vowel (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, r, ṛ, lṛ*), or a complex vowel (*e, o, ai, au*), or a simple consonant made pronounceable by a vowel (usually the vowel *a*), *karana* denotes more especially the pronounceable sound represented either by more than one syllable or by one syllable containing more than one consonant. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, implies merely the simple letter,—among vowels, especially the simple vowel, among consonants, merely the *single consonant, not accompanied with a vowel sign*. Lastly, *akshara* means "syllable" in our sense of the word, and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kāra*, or *varna*, in the same way that *kāra* and *varna* are apparently convertible terms when they are the latter parts of compounds, the former of which are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, r, ṛ, lṛ*,

I have, in the foregoing observations, purposely abstained from alluding to the use which has been made of these terms in the existing Prātiśākhya of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana, in the first place, because it was my object to show their meaning in Pāṇini's work, as well as in those old Commentaries which have strictly adhered to his terminology, and because it would have been an uncritical proceeding to confound the meaning or bearing of these terms in works belonging to a different

43 Kaiyāta on V. II 2, 89 अक्षरम्, the same on the Introduction to the Śivas अक्षर-यजनसद्दिनोऽच्, अङ्गोऽब्ध दया ये वरामह इति पञ्चाक्षरमिति ।

class of Hindu literature,⁴⁴ secondly, because the date of these works, themselves,—or, at least, their relative position towards Pāṇini,—will have to be ascertained, before any conclusion can be drawn from a difference which may have existed between them in the use of these terms. Though I shall recur to this point, I may now state my belief, that even if grammatical works older than Pāṇini had used *varna* in the general sense of *akshara*, such a circumstance would not disprove the fact that *varna* might have meant ■ written sign even before Pāṇini's time. There is, for instance, an introductory Vārttika of Kātyāyana which countenances the assumption that *varna* had such a sense in some older grammarian, but the very manner in which it is brought before the reader shows that Kātyāyana contrasts the use of this word in Pāṇini with that in his predecessor, and confirms, therefore, the definition I have given before. At the same time, it leaves the question undecided whether *varna* was, or was not, a written letter in this older work. The Vārttika I am alluding to occurs at the end of the general introduction, and refers to the following Vaidika passage mentioned in the beginning of the introduction: "Whoever establishes this speech according to its words, its accent, and its syllables, he is fit to institute or to perform sacrificial work, and that it ■ a duty to study grammar, follows from the words 'let us be fit to institute,

44 This confusion, unhappily, does not seldom occur in the definition of words, as found in our dictionaries, thus, अभ्यस्त ■ used by Yāska in the general sense "reduplicated," and as applied to a *dhātu*, or radical portion of the verb (Nir IV 23 एरिह इणेनिरुपसृष्टोऽभ्यस्त, or IV 25 एरिह ज्ञानिरभ्यस्त), in Pāṇini, however, it means the first two syllables of a reduplicated *anga* or base (VI 1,5), अभ्यास means reduplication, in the *Anukta* (V 12), on the form वन्नास्, आदिनाभ्यामेने पहितनोपधाभादत्ते वयस्त्रित्कर्मा, in Pāṇini it means the first syllable of reduplication (VI 1, 4). To philosophical terms this remark applies in a still stronger sense, they have been generally dealt with as if the same term, e. g., मनस्, आत्मन, बुद्धि, etc., had the same sense in all the philosophical systems, which is not the case.

or to perform sacrificial work' " 45 The Vārttika then says "*akshara*, you must know, means *na kshara* : *e*, not perishable," and continues, "or *akshara* comes from *aś*, 'to pervade,' with the affix *sara* (*Ka*)*yata* 'because it pervades the sense'," and concludes, "or they call *varna* so in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian)" [*Patañjali* : *e* "or in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian) *varna* has the name *akshara*" *Ka**yata* "For it is said in another grammar, that the *varṇas* are *aksharas*" *Nāgojibhatta* "In a similar manner the term *akshara-samūmnāya* means a multitude of *varṇas* as seen in the Vedas "] 46

Before I proceed to give other evidence as to Pānini's knowledge of writing, I will draw attention to two words which have here a claim to notice, and first to the word *ūrdhva*. It is used adverbially in the sense of "after," for instance, in Manu, ix 77, *ūrdhvaṃ samatsarāt*, "after a year," or, Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad *tata ūrdhvaṃ vakṣyāmi* "after that I shall say" But *ūrdhva* means, originally, "upwards, above, high, or (in combination with an ablative) higher" It is possible to conceive progress as an act of rising, when the sense "after" would follow from this latter acceptation. But it is more probable that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in books,—where it is frequently used in this way,—before it became a more general one, and, if so, the figure would naturally follow from the description I have given of a Hindu book, for the beginning of a Sanskrit MS,—as may still be seen in some of the oldest specimens,—was at the bottom of the pile of leaves which

45 *Patañjali* को वा इमां पदशः स्वरक्षोऽक्षरक्षो वाच्यं विदधानि न आदिब्रीहो मवर्ति । आदिब्रीहोना स्थामेत्यध्वेयं व्याकरणम्, *Ka**yayata* अद्विजमद्वीत्वादि जानो यजमान (Pānini, V 1, 71) अद्विजमद्वीतीति याजकोऽप्यादिब्रीहो (ib *Vārttika*)

46 *Ka**tyāyana* ॥ अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात् ॥ अक्षरोत्तेर्वा स्वरक्षरम् ॥ वर्णं वादु पूर्वसूत्रं *Patañjali* (on the latter) यथा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति सहा क्रियते, *Ka**yayata* पूर्वसूत्र इति । व्याकरणान्तरे वर्णं अक्षराणीति वचनात्, *Nāgojibhatta* पूर्वसूत्रशब्दे पञ्चीनत्पुण्य इति भावः । एव च अक्षरसमाम्नाय इत्यस्य धुनिरूपो वर्णवद्भावा इत्यत्र नात्यर्थम् ।

constitute its bulk. What is "above," in a Hindu book, is, therefore, "after," while, with us, the term "above" denotes the opposite sense, from the circumstance of the progress of our books being a descending one. And this assumption is corroborated by a second synonymous word, viz. *udaya*, which also means, originally, "going upwards," and then, "after, following," and which, moreover, is never used in this sense, except of passages in books. It occurs frequently thus in the *Prātisākhya*s, but, for the reasons stated before, I content myself with quoting, for its occurrence in Pāṇini, the *Sūtra* VIII 4, 67⁴⁷

"If writing," says Muller, "had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing" (p. 507)

As Weber, in his 'Indische Studien' (vol. iv p. 89), had already mentioned two grammatical terms of "Pāṇini," viz. *svaritet* and *udāttet* which he considers as "founded on graphical appearance", I cannot suppose that Muller has overlooked the remark of this scholar, but must assume that he has silently rejected it, either on account of its incorrectness or its inconclusiveness. It is true, that the latter term does not occur at all in the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, nor the former, such as it is given by Weber, but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that, in the *Sūtra* I 3, 72, *svaritaṇṭas* must be analysed *svaritetas* and *ṇṭas* (comp. the commentaries), and on the other hand, Muller can neither have ignored that Pāṇini's expression, *anudātṭanṭas* (I 3 12), is equivalent to *anudātṭetas* and *ṇṭas*, nor that the term *anudāttet* distinctly occurs in the rules III 2, 149 and VI 1, 186. His absolute silence on this point was probably, therefore, not caused by Weber.

47 For the same reasons I do not avail myself of the word *udāttet* "above," though it occurs in the same sense, "after," e.g. in *khāṭy* *āṅyana* *Prātisākhya*, I 33. (The word *अस्मिन्* is used in the sense "before," e.g. in Uvāsa's comment on this *Prātisākhya*, I 85 *अस्मिन्*, in the sense "after," e.g. in the introduction of the *Jaiminiya mīmāṃsā-vistara*.)

partial inaccuracy, but by the reference the latter gives when naming these terms,—the reference to Dr Boehtlingk's "Comment" on the Sūtra I 3, 11 For it must be readily admitted that the gloss of this writer is quite enough to raise the strongest apprehensions as to the sanity of Pāṇini, provided that it does not induce the reader to arrive at a peculiar view of the fitness of Pāṇini's 'editor' himself to compose a comment on this great grammarian ⁴⁸

48 I subjoin a literal copy of this gloss, which but poorly illustrates the character of the second volume of Dr Boehtlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini It runs thus —"Wo der Circumflex gestanden hat, will ich nicht entscheiden, wenn zu Pāṇini's Zeiten die Accente in der gewöhnlichen Schrift nicht gebraucht wurden, konnte der Circumflex über einen beliebigen Buchstaben des *adhikāra* gesetzt werden, ohne Verwirrung hervorzubringen Die Handschriften unseres Grammatikers, die ich verglichen habe, sind alle aus der neusten Zeit und bezeichnen diesen Accent ebenso wenig wie die nasalen Vocale in *upadeśa* Wenn ich 2 *vārtikas* zu unserer Regel recht verstehe, so wurde bei einem *adhikāra* ein Buchstabe angefügt (der vielleicht der Träger des Circumflex war) und zwar so oft als der *adhikāra* in der Folge ergänzt werden musste, konnte er nicht so weit ergänzt werden, dann musste man ihn die fehlenden Male bei den vorhergehenden (?) Regeln ergänzen Hier die beiden *vārtika's* selbst वावतिषोऽनुबन्धे तावतो योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तते इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ १ ॥ भूवति प्रागमुन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ २ ॥" Translation

"Where the circumflex [*ue*, this rendering of *scarita* shows that the writer has no idea of the nature of this accent] was placed, I will not decide (*ue*), if, at the time of Pāṇini, accents were not used in common writing, the circumflex could be put over any letter of an *adhikāra* without causing confusion The MSS of our grammarian which I compared (*ue*) are all of the most recent date, and mark this little as the nasal vowels in the *upadeśa* If I understand rightly as to our rule, a letter (which, perhaps, was the bearer of the circumflex) was added to an *adhikāra* that is to say, as often, as *kāra* had to be supplied in the sequel, if it could not be supplied then, one had to supply it when wanted, at the preceding (?) [this belongs to Dr B] rules Here are the two *Vārtikas* themselves then follow the Sanskrit words as given above]—The latter words ("if it could not," etc) are beyond my comprehension, for,

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I must, therefore, while rejecting Weber's reference, defend first his quotation of the Sūtra with the assistance of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Pāṇini says (I 3, 11) : "An *adhikāra*, or heading rule (will be recognized in my Grammar) by the

what reasons could prevent an *adhikāra*, from being supplied, and if there was such an obstructed *adhikāra*, how could it be supplied at a preceding rule ? I doubt, however, whether this sentence, which is intended to represent the meaning of the second Vārttika as quoted above, was understood by its own author. But the very words of this "Vārttika" revenge themselves on the person who has ill-used them so much they betray the character of the work which has commented on them. For, however intelligible they are in themselves, it must be observed that the Calcutta Pandits have made a mistake in the wording of this Vārttika. Dr Boehtlingk, therefore, in giving himself the appearance of having quoted a rule laboriously examined in an original work, is simply detected in reprinting, without any examination whatever, the error of the Calcutta editors. *And this, I may add, is generally the case in his "comment."* The fact, in short, is this —the Kāśikā and Siddhānta have no Vārttikas on this Sūtra and in the Mahābhāṣya the words given belong to two distinct passages, which have been erroneously contracted by the Pandits into one, viz, to a passage of a Vārttika, भूयसि प्राग्बचनम्, and to a passage from the commentary of Patañjali भूयसि प्राग्बचनं यत्तद्व्यम् । प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana ought to have said—instead of प्राक्, प्राक् with a word following in the ablative') The second of these passages is therefore merely a correction, by Patañjali, of the vague expression of Kātyāyana, and the इति वक्तव्यम् which conveys the correction, becomes purposeless, or assumes a different bearing, in the version of the Calcutta edition. And I may add, that the Pandits have erred, too, in publishing what is their first Vārttika, for they mistook the comment of, and a quotation made by, Patañjali, for the text of a Vārttika. The reprint has been, of course, as conscientious in the latter case as in the former. Compare for both Vārttikas the following note with its translation : But to show in its proper light the astounding explanation of Dr Boehtlingk on this second Vārttika, I shall illustrate his ingenuity by taking some instances of the Kāśikā, as quoted in its comment on this Sūtra, and apply to them his comment on the first Vārttika. According to Kāśikā, the Sūtras VI 4, 129, III. I, 91, VI 4, 1, IV 1, 1, III 1, 1, are among those marked with

accent *svarita* "49 Upon this *Patañjali* remarks "Why does he say that ?"—*Vārttika* "An *adhikāra* to every rule

a *svarita*, to indicate that they are *adhikāras*, the first of these *adhikāras* extends over 47, the second over 541, the third over 613, the fourth over 1190, and the fifth over 1821 *Sūtras*. If we credit, therefore, the explanation of Dr Boehtlingk, a letter of the alphabet (he does not say which, probably, therefore, any one) was added, perhaps, as he says in the parenthesis, as the bearer of this *svarita*, "that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel" In other words, in the five instances quoted such a letter was added to the *Sūtra* VI 4, 129, 47 times, and so on to the other *Sūtras* severally 514, 613, 1190, and 1821 times ! And this method, he conceives, had been devised in a kind of literature, where shortness is the chief object, and where "an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son" Surely, it requires neither knowledge nor scholarship, but merely something else, to deter a rational writer from eliciting such a sense from a sane book

49 Pāṇini I 3, 11 स्वरितेनाधिकारः—*Patañjali* किमर्थमिदमुच्यते—*Vārttika* omitted in the Calc ed at this *Sūtra*, but mentioned VI 1, 158, where it occurs as a quotation) अधिकारप्रतियोग इत्यादिर्देशार्थः—*Patañjali* अधिकारप्रतियोग इत्येव तस्यादिर्देशार्थ इति । किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति । योगयोगप्रतिप्रतियोगयोगेयोगेतस्यप्रवृत्तिमाकर्षयति—*Kaṣṣyaṭa* स्वरितेनेतीरमभूत्प्रवृत्तिरुच्यते । स्वरितेनाधिकारोऽस्म्यन् इत्यर्थः । स्वरितत्वं सूत्रस्थाना केवलमधिकारप्रमाणार्थं प्रतिपाद्यत न तु प्रयोगसमवायि । अधिकारस्यैव मावसाधनं कर्मावसाधनं वा । विनियोगो लोकेऽधिकार उच्यते न एवेद् गृह्यते । किमर्थमिति । आकाङ्क्षादिप्रवृत्तिरनुसृतस्य सम्बन्धो लोकादिव विविच्यतीति प्रश्नः—

Vārttika (omitted in the Calc ed) अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानं तु—*Patañjali* अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानं तु भवति । न चायेन किञ्चनमवधिमाधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति—*Vārttika* (omitted in the Calc ed) अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थं तु—*Patañjali* अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थमेव तद्वयं योगो वक्तव्यः । अविज्ञात्परिमाणं नास्तीति । कथं पुनस्वरितेनाधिकार इत्यनेनाधिकारपरिमाणं शक्यं विज्ञानुम् । एवमप्यादि स्वरितेनाधिकार इति—*Kaṣṣyaṭa* अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानं त्विति । यथा भानोरिति किं प्राग्भावेऽप्येव । अथावापपरिसमाप्ते अत्राधिकार इत्यस्यास्यधिकारेऽप्येव । अथा मसमर्पितमाप्तेरिति—*Patañjali* स्वरित इत्याधिकारो न भवतीति केनेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति । लौकिकोऽधिकारः । नाधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । अयदिर्देशस्तु निर्वर्तकमस्मात्परिभाषेति । अधिकारार्थमेव तद्वयं योगो वक्तव्यः—*Kaṣṣyaṭa* स्वरित इत्येव । प्रकृतस्याधिकारमिव एवेदं शब्दादतरस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते । तेन विज्ञानिकात्त इत्यत्र स्वरितत्वदर्शनात् ।

belonging to it, its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation"—*Patañjali* " 'An *adhikāra* (says Kātyāyana) is made (so as to apply) to every rule belonging to it, its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation ' What does that mean, 'to every rule belonging to it ' 'To every rule belonging to it,' means in reference to each such rule, and he wants to imply that I must not make special mention (of the *adhikāra*) in each such rule"—*Ārjyāta* "The words, 'by the accent *svarita* [in Sanskrit it is only one word], are the third case in the sense of 'such and such a mark' (as ruled by Pāṇini, II 3, 21), i e an *adhikāra* is marked with the accent *svarita* The plan to mark words which are in the *Sūtra* with the *svarita*, is merely devised in order that the *adhikāra* may become recognizable, but it has nothing to do with practical application [i e the *svarita* is not pronounced] The word *adhikāra* either expresses a condition or it expresses an act, in common language, *adhikāra* is the same as *vinīyoga*, or appointment to an office, and thus is understood here *Patañjali* asks 'Why does Pāṇini say that ' This question means Will there be (in his grammar) as in common language, a connec-

द्वित्रिपूर्वादिभ्यस्व निवृत्तिं नुमीयते—*Patañjali* ननु चोक्तम् । अधिकारपरिमाणाद्वा न
त्विति ।—*Vṛttika* ३ वनि-गोऽननुष वस्नावनी योगादिति वचनात्प्रत्यक्षम्—*Patañjali*
यावन्निधोऽनुबन्धनं तावन्तो योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तन इति वक्तव्यम्—*Ārjyāta*
यावन्निध इति । द्वित्रिपूर्वादिभ्यस्वत्रैकारोऽनुबन्ध कर्तव्य । तेन द्वयोर्धोणयोऽनुवृत्तिर्भ
वति । एवमन्यथापि बोधितव्यम्—*Patañjali* अवेदान्ती यत्राहोयामोऽन न्यमश्च
योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तन एव तत्र कर्तव्यम्—*Ārjyāta* अन्यथापि इति । एव पुनर्भित्त
जायाय'पेक्षया प्रत्यक्षत्वम् । परमतापेक्षया । अत्ये योगा इति इति चेन्नन्यस्ते नत्राहो
यामोऽन । तथा वद्वोऽन इति चेद्भूयसी योगा—*Vṛttika* भूयसि प्राग्वचनम्—
Patañjali भूयसि प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम् । प्रागमुन इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्तद्वि वक्तव्यम् ।
न वक्तव्यम् । सन्देहमात्रेण दूराति । सर्वमन्देशेषु चेदमुपनिष्ठते स्वात्मानतो विद्येयमनि
पत्तिन हि सन्देहादङ्गमिति—*Ārjyāta* भूयसीति । अद्वयस्य प्राग्देशित्यादि
वक्तव्यम् । तत्तद्वि । सार्वात्म्ये'ति भूयसि प्राग्वचनं वेद्यम्—*Patañjali*

किं प्रयोजनम्—*Vṛttika* (omitted in the Calc ed) स्वरितेनाधिकार-
गतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत—*Patañjali* अधिकारगति । अधिक कार । अधिक कार्यम् ।
गोम्बिदोरपमर्जनस्येत्यत्र श्रौटाद्यग्रहणं बोधितं न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरविषयते ।
स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत लियामित्येव प्रकृत्य ये विद्वितास्तथा ग्रहणं विज्ञायेत तत्र
स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत इति न दोषो भवति etc

tion of the matter treated under the same head, because the subjects refer necessarily to one another, and the like?"

[Then follows in the Bhāṣya a discussion of Patañjali, the purport of which is to show that the word *adhikāra*, which literally means *superintendence, government*, has, in grammar, an analogous sense to that which it has in common life]—*Vārttika* "But (there is) no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes"—*Patañjali* (repeats these words in the manner we have seen before, adding the ellipsis 'there is,' as he usually repeats the words of a *Vārttika* which he explains, in order to ensure its proper text, and then continues) "These words mean It might not be known to what limit an *adhikāra* is applicable"—*Vārttika* "However, that the extent of an *adhikāra* might be known"—*Patañjali* "Just that the extent of an *adhikāra* might be known, on that account this rule (I 3, 11) had to be uttered, in other words, that I may know how far an *adhikāra* goes But again, how can the extent of an *adhikāra* be known through the Sūtra, which says 'an *adhikāra* (will be recognized in my grammar) by the accent *svarita*,' so that I could say 'the *adhikāra* (is recognized) by the accent *svarita*?' "
—*Kaṣyapa* " 'But, there is no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes,' says the *Vārttika*, for instance, does *adhikāra* III 1, 91, stop before the Sūtra III 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the (third) book? Does the *adhikāra* VI 4, 1, stop before the Sūtra VI 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the seventh book?—*Patañjali* "Since, as soon as (another) *svarita* is seen, there is an end of the *adhikāra* (indicated by the previous *svarita*, by what means, then, can there be now an *adhikāra*? *Adhikāra* is (as we have seen) a term of common life Now, if you say there is no such *adhikāra* (meant in this grammar), why was it said before [in a previous discussion], 'that a new injunction stopping (the applicability of the *adhikāra*), a *paribhāṣā* (had to be given)' Therefore on account of an *adhikāra* this rule had to be uttered"—*Kaṣyapa* "(When Patañjali says), 'As soon as (another) *svarita* is seen,' etc., (his words mean) to stop the (applicability of an) *adhikāra* on a subject matter, the plan is devised to mark another word with the *svarita*, thus, because the *svarita* mark is seen in the Sūtra V 1, 32, it is in

be inferred that the applicability of the *adhikāra*, V 1, 30 (which also was marked with the *svarita*) has ceased"—*Patañjali* "Now, has not Kātyāyana said, 'But there is no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes?' " (Quite so, hence the) *Vārttika* (continues) : "This results from what is said elsewhere 'whatever the numerical value of the letter which is joined (to an *adhikāra*-rule), to as many rules' "—*Patañjali* "These words would have been better quoted thus 'With whatever numerical value a letter is joined (as *anubandha* to an *adhikāra* rule), to as many (following) rules the *adhikāra* applies' "—*Kaṭyāyana* "For instance to the Sūtra V 1, 30, the mute letter : (the second in the Śivasūtras) is to be joined, therefore it applies to two subsequent rules, and similarly in other *adhikāra* rules"—*Patañjali* "Now, what is to be done when an *adhikāra* applies to more rules, while there are fewer letters of the alphabet?"—*Kaṭyāyana* "(When Patañjali says) 'Fewer (and more),' is this comparative (literally, is the affix of the higher degree, i.e. the affix of the comparative) used in reference to different species (of the same class)? (No,) it is used in an absolute sense (For he means) If you think the rules belonging to the same *adhikāra* are few, then (you would have to take his words as implying that) the letters of the alphabet may be (still) fewer, on the other hand, if you think the letters are many, then (his words would imply that) there may be still more rules belonging to the same *adhikāra*'—*Vārttika* "If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), the expression *prāk*, 'before,' "—*Patañjali* "If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), Pāṇini (says the *Vārttika*) ought always to have made use of the expression *prāk*, 'before,' or the *Vārttika* ought to have rather said 'before, with a word following in the ablative' " [The *Vārttika* means that the *adhikāra* then should have been always indicated in the Sūtra by the expression that such and such an *adhikāra* is valid "before," i.e. goes no further than, such and such a rule or word, as is the case, e.g. I 4, 56, II 1, 3, IV 4, 1 and 70 V 1, 1 and 16, 3, 1 and 70, etc.] Ought Pāṇini indeed (in such a case) to have expressed himself thus? No, he ought not. This is a mere question of a doubtful case, and in all such cases there avails

the Paribhāṣha which says that 'the solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation,⁵⁰ for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion (to solve it)'" —*Kaṭyāyana* "The foregoing words, 'if there are more, etc.' mean that Pāṇini (instead of giving, e.g. his rule, VI 4, 1, as he does in the word *angasya*, i.e. 'this is the *adhikāra* on base'), ought to have said, '*angasya prāg dīkḥ*,' i.e. 'this is the *adhikāra* on base which avails before (i.e. does not go further than) VIII 1, 1 (exclusively)'. The words of Patañjali, 'ought Pāṇini, indeed, etc.', mean 'ought Pāṇini to have given the contents of the two preceding Vārttikas?' [Then follows, in the Bhāṣya, an observation of Patañjali on a doubtful passage, which is the subject of his comment in its appropriate place. He continues] : "What is the purpose of the Sūtra?" —*Vārttika*. "That the proper way of applying an *adhikāra* might be known by means of the *śarita*" — Patañjali. "Proper way of applying an *adhikāra*" (Just so), (*Adhi-kāra* means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over. Now, at the Sūtra I 2, 48, the expression *gorūn* (used in the Vārttika to this rule) must not be considered as the subject of the *adhikāra*, for the expression *stri* will have the *śarita*. Therefore, according to the words of the Vārttika ('that the proper way,' etc.) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra (I 2, 48) which fall under the head *stri*, and, according to the Vārttika's own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I 2, 48." [To understand this latter illustration of our rule, it is necessary to know that *Kaṭyāyana*, in giving the Vārttika *gorūṅgrahayām kṛnūṣītyarthaṃ*, to the Sūtra I 2, 48, intends to point out an omission in the rule of Pāṇini. Patañjali, however, shows that the *śarita* over *stri* in this rule obviates the punctiliousness of the Vārttika, and he therefore taunts *Kaṭyāyana*, as well on this occasion as when he comments on I 2, 48, for not having

50 "व्याख्यानम्" The word व्याख्यान 'explanation' is defined in the Introduction of Patañjali उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं च व्याख्यानम् इत्येतन्मुद्रितं व्याख्यानं भवति, "explanation is giving an instance, giving a counter-instance, and supplying the elliptical of a sentence all these three together."

understood 'the proper way of applying the *adhikāra*,' by repeating to him his own criticisms on the Sūtra of the present discussion. Then follow other illustrations of Patañjali as to the proper way of applying an *adhikāra*, which it is not necessary for our immediate purpose to add to the foregoing translation]

The passage I have given here from the "Great Commentary" on Pāṇini,—and which may serve too as a specimen of the manner in which the two grammatical saints, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, scrutinized every doubtful word of the Sūtras,—will have shown that the rule of Pāṇini, which teaches the manner of defining an *adhikāra*, or heading rule, is interpreted by them as being based on the application of writing to his terminology. There are three modes, as we learn from them (and the fact is, of course, fully borne out by the Sūtras themselves), by which Pāṇini indicates a heading-rule in his Grammar. The one consists in his using the word *prāk*, "before," with a word following in the ablative, by which expression he implies that the heading continues up to that word, which will occur in a later Sūtra. Another mode of his is merely to indicate the heading, the extent of which is then, as the Bhāṣya says, matter of "explanation." His third and last mode consists in putting the sign of a *śarita*—which was not intended for pronunciation,—not over any word of the Sūtra, arbitrarily, as Dr Boehtlingk imagines, but, as common sense word *stri*, in the Sūtra I 2, 48. Kātyāyana, moreover, indicates (by the expression *bhāṣasi*), and Patañjali expressly states, that in those cases in which the number of Sūtras comprised under an *adhikāra* did not exceed the number of the letters of the alphabet, a letter representing a numerical value (without, of course, being the bearer of a *śarita*), was added to indicate the extent of the *adhikāra*, and from the example given by Kaiyāta we must infer that the numerical value of the letter was determined by the position it has in the Śivasūtras, since 1 is to him an equivalent of the figure 2. And this representation of figures by letters of the alphabet deserves an additional interest from the circumstance that it is quite different from the method we meet with at a later period of Hindu progress in mathema-

-tics and astronomy⁵¹ In short, we see that Patañjali and Kātyāyana not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pāṇini, but consider the use he has made of writing as one of the *chief means by which he has built up the technical structure of his work*.

I will obviate, at once, an objection which may be raised,—though it could scarcely be raised by those who treat Kātyāyana as a contemporary of Pāṇini, or use the Commentaries as direct evidence for or against Pāṇini,—I mean the objection that the comments of Kātyāyana and Patañjali would only testify to their own knowledge and use of written accents, but that neither necessitate the conclusion that Pāṇini knew and employed, as they suppose him to have done, written accents, nor that he was acquainted with the use of written letters for the purpose of denoting numerical values. And should there be any who attach more faith on Kaṣṣyaṭa, the late commentator on Patañjali, than to Patañjali himself and Kātyāyana, they might, perhaps, adduce an observation of this grammarian “that the Sūtras of Pāṇini were read in one breath, (without any regard to accent),” in order to infer that the *śarita* might have been *sounded* over the word which it intended to mark as *adhikāra*⁵² Such a conclusion, however, would be invalidated not only by the natural sense of the passage quoted, but by the remark of the same grammarian, which is contained in the translation I have given before, and which states that the *śarita* was not intended, in our present case, for ‘practical application’ It remains, therefore, to be seen whether this remark of Kaṣṣyaṭa is confirmed by analogous facts in Pāṇini’s Grammar

51 Compare the system of Āryabhatta, who uses vowels and nasals = 0, *ka, ta, pa, ja* = 1, *kha, tha, pha, ra* = 2, *ga, da, ba, la* = 3, etc See Lassen’s *Zeitschrift*, II 423 ff., “*Journal Asiatique*” (1835), vol XVI, p 116, etc

52 Kaṣṣyaṭa towards the end of the Introduction एवमुक्त्वा सूत्राणां पाठात्मवैषामुदात्तादीनामुपदेश — Another discussion of *adhikāra* occurs incidentally in Patañjali’s comment on I, 1, 49

Pāṇini frequently refers, in his Sūtras, not only to grammarians who have preceded him, but to lists of affixes, and to arrangements of the verbal roots, which must have coincided with his own terminology. The personal relation of Pāṇini to these collections or books will be the subject of future remark, it will suffice, at present, to show that Pāṇini's work, and these works, were based on the same grammatical system. Pāṇini refers, for instance, to a list of affixes which begin with *un*⁵³ where the mute letter *n*—which has exactly the same technical value in the affix *un* as it would have in Pāṇini's affixes *an*, *na*, or in other terms containing this *anubandha*—proves that these affixes rested on the terminology which governs the Sūtras of Pāṇini. He speaks of *bhuvādi*, *adādi*, *tudādi*,—in short, of the ten classes of radicals, just as they are given in the Dhātupāṭha, and even of sub-divisions of the word, e g., *dyutādi* *pushādi*, *bhūdādi* *muchādi* *yajūdi*, *radhādi* etc.⁵⁴ and if there existed a doubt that the expressions quoted, which contain the first word of a list, necessarily imply the whole list, and in the order in which the words of such a list appear in this work,⁵⁵ the doubter

५३ उणादि, compare Pāṇini, III 3 1 4, 75 —This word is sometimes written उणादि but wrongly, for the Sandhi rules apply not only to real words, but equally to the technical language of the Sūtras. Since उण, in उणादि, is a *pada* (*pūrva-pada*), it has to follow the Sandhi rule given, VII 3, 32. Real *padas* ending in ण, it is true, are rare, and perhaps still rarer as first parts of a compound, but a word वृणन् becomes on that very ground the subject of an exceptional rule, its first part is said to be not वृण but वृ (1 4, 18, v 3). As the phonetic rules of the grammarians bespeak the necessities and predilections of the Hindu organ of speech, technical names could not but follow the general rules of pronunciation, and there is no cause, therefore, to wish an exception for the term उणादि.

54 Compare e g. Pāṇini I 3, 1 II 4, 72 and 75 III 1, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 25, III 1, 55 3, 104, VII 1, 59, VI 1, 15, VII 2, 45, and other instances which are quoted in the excellent *Radices Linguae Sanscritae* of H. Estergaard.

55 It is barely possible, however, to admit such a doubt, for Pāṇini does not restrict himself to generally mentioning radicals by giving the

would have at least to admit that the *anubandhas* or technical letters which accompany each radical in the Dhātupāṭha, possess the grammatical value which is expressly defined as inhering in them by special rules of Pāṇini⁵⁶. He refers to the *Upadeśa*, which is, according to Patañjali, a list, not only of the radicals, but of nominal bases, affixes, particles, increases of the base and grammatical substitutes, all of which are "settled," as Kātyāyana says⁵⁷

Now, if we consult the Sūtras which treat of the verbal roots, we find, for instance, that, as a rule, a root is *udāta* on the last syllable (VI 1, 162). Yet (VII 2, 10) Pāṇini states that a radical has not the connecting vowel *i*, if in the *Upadeśa* it is a *monosyllable* and *anudatta*. As the former rule concerns a radical, which is part of, and embodied in, a real word, while the latter describes the theoretical existence of the radical in the Dhātupāṭha, we may imagine, it is true, that for the purpose of grammatical teaching a pronunciation of the radical was devised in the *Upadeśa* different to that which it has in real language. But, even on the supposition that a radical could be pronounced *anudatta*, is it probable that Pāṇini or the

first word of the order, such as *bhuvādi*, *adādi*, etc., he refers, also, to distinct numbers. Thus, VII 2, 59, he speaks of *the four radicals* beginning with *क्व*, and the rule he gives applies to no other four radicals than *क्व* and the three radicals which follow it in the Dhātup (§ 18, 19-22). He speaks, VII 2, 15, of *the five radicals* beginning with *क्*, and his rule avails only for *क्* and the four radicals which follow it in the Dhātup (§ 28, 116-120), or, VI 3, 98, of *the five radicals* beginning with *त्* (= Dhātup § 24, 59-63), or, VI 1, 6, of *the six radicals* beginning with *क्व* (= Dhātup § 24, 63-69), or, VI 4, 125, of *the seven radicals* beginning with *क्व* (Dhātup § 19, 73-79), etc. In all these instances, therefore, the order of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, as referred to by Pāṇini, is the absolute condition of his rule.

⁵⁶ Compare the quotations in Westergaard's *Radices*, p. 342-343.

⁵⁷ Compare Pāṇini I 3, 2, VI 1, 45, 186, 4, 37, VIII 4, 14, 18, (the term occurs frequently, too, in the *Vārtikas* and *ḥṛīkṣ*,) and see note 39.

authors of the Dhātupāṭha could have recourse to so clumsy a method for conveying the rule implied by the term *anudatta* ? Would they, gratuitously, have created the confusion that must necessarily arise from a twofold pronunciation of the same radical, when any other technical *anubandha* would have enabled them to attain the same end ? Let us suppose, on the contrary, that *anudatta*, in the *Upadesa*, does not mean the spoken, but the *written* accent, and the difficulty is solved without the necessity of impugning the ability or the common sense of the grammarians.

This inference is strengthened, moreover, by another analogous fact, which may be recalled before I give further proof from a synopsis of Pāṇini's rules and the appearance of the radicals in the *Upadesa*. This fact is contained in the last Sūtra of Pāṇini's grammar, where he teaches that the short vowel *a*, which in his rules is treated as *virita*, or pronounced with the expansion of the throat, is, in reality, *samvrita* or pronounced with the contraction of the throat. This Sūtra did certainly not intend to impose upon the pupil the task of pronouncing, during his grammar lessons, the short vowel *a* in such a manner as no Hindu can pronounce it, or of sounding, when learning the properties of this vowel, instead of it, some nondescript deputy vowel-sound. It can only mean that, for the sake of technical purposes defined by the commentators, Pāṇini made a fiction in his grammar, which, of course, he had to remove when terminating his book. This fiction, however, being based on a *phonetic impossibility*, would be a very awkward one if it applied to oral teaching only, it becomes quite unobjectionable if it is supported by a *written* text.⁵³

53 I call it a *phonetic impossibility* since *ai*, if it were pronounced विष्णु, would assume the properties of *ai*, but as Pāṇini does not allow such an *ai* to occupy the same portion of time which is required for the pronunciation of *i*, a short *ai* pronounced with the expansion of the throat, becomes, to a Hindu organ of speech and from Pāṇini's point of view impossible. For this reason, Patañjali, too, who on a previous occasion had defined the letters which occur in the *Upadesa*, i.e., the *upadishṭa-varṇas*, as pronounced or pronounceable letters [see note 40], looks upon

If a radical in the Upadeśa, says Pāṇini (I 3 12) has the *anudatta* (or *n*) as *anubandha*, it is, in general, inflected in the *ātmanepada* if its *anubandha* is the *svarita* (or *ñ*) it is, under certain conditions inflected in the *ātmanepada*, under others, in the *parasmaipada* (I 3, 72), if it has neither of these *anubandhas* (nor is subject to any of the rules I 3, 12-77), it is inflected in the *parasmaipada* only (I 3, 78) Again, from the Dhātupāṭha we learn that, for instance, the radicals *ṣṣā*, *r*, *li* *vr* *bhr* *kshu* (*sh*) *jñā*, are *anudatta* (i e, do not assume the connecting vowel *i*), but have neither the *anudatta* nor the *svarita* as *anubandha*⁵⁹ The latter term implies that the sign which bears this denomination is added *after* the significant element Since, however, the roots named are monosyllable in the Upadeśa, and since it is impossible to pronounce an accent without a vowel-sound supporting it, the assumption that the *anudatta* and other accent-*anubandhas* were spoken sounds, would lead to the conclusion that the same verbal root was simultaneously *anudatta* and *not anudatta*⁶⁰

this last Sutra of Pāṇini as merely given to counteract the effect of the Upadeśa, he thus implies that this is only case in which an *upadiṣṭa*-*varna* was not pronounceable अथ (VIII 4, 68) ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । अकारोऽपमक्षरमाम्नाये विवृतं ७१दिष्टस्य सङ्गताप्रत्यापत्तिरिति किमेत—*ḥaṣṣyaṭa* किमर्थमिति । अकारस्याकारवचने प्रयोगनामावात्तस्य । अकारोऽवमिति । सवर्णार्थमिदं शास्त्रे विवृतद्वयोक्तोऽकार उपदिष्टः । तस्य प्रयोगे सङ्गत्सर्वेष्वोच्चारणमिदं प्रत्यापत्ति-वचनम् । अक्षरसमाग्रावग्रहणं सङ्कशशास्त्रोपलक्षणम् ।

59 Westergaard's Radices § 31, 29—36

60 Other instances may be gathered from Westergaard's Radices I must exclude, however, some which are not countenanced by the best MSS I have consulted, those, especially, which are met with in the Radices under the term *स्वरितेत्* For when we read in the latter work (c g § 22 and § 31, 1, etc) that *भृन्*, *हृन्* *षृन्* etc, *उदीञ्*, *पीञ्*, *क्षीञ्*, etc are *अनुदात्ता* and *स्वरितेत्*, or (§ 31, 10, etc) that *कञ्*, *दृञ्*, *पृञ्*, etc are *उदात्ता* and *स्वरितेत्*, I could not adduce these and similar instances in support of my conclusions since Mādhava is certainly right in giving, instead of the term *स्वरितेत्*, the word *उपवर्णित* or *उपवर्तोऽपवा* as the *anubandha* न् would become meaningless, if these roots had, besides, the *anubandha* *स्वरित* The term *स्वरितेत्* is correctly indicated by

If I have adhered to the terminology of the Dhātupāṭha, as it is met with in the best MSS of Mādhava's commentary, the foregoing illustration would have become still more striking, for, according to them, the roots *jīṣ* *ri* etc., are *anudatta* and have the *udatta* as their *anubandha*. In general, it may be observed, that the Sūtra I 3, 78 ■ apparently understood by Mādhava and other commentators as referring to roots which have *udatta* as *anubandha* for a root which is neither *anudattet* nor *svartet*, is described by them as *udattet*. There is some reason, however, to doubt whether the latter term really occurred in the *Upadesa* referred to by Pāṇini, and as the solution of this doubt, in an affirmative sense, would add another fact to those already obtained it will not be superfluous to advert to it here.

The misgiving I entertain is based on Pāṇini's own terminology. He speaks of roots which, in the *Upadesa*, are *udatta* (VII 3, 34) and *anudatta* (VI 5, 37, VII 2, 1C), which are *anudatta* and *svartet* (see the preceding quotations, p. 45), but there is no trace in his grammar of radicals which are *udattet*. And this omission is the more striking, as the number of roots which are marked *udattet* in the present MSS of the Dhātupāṭha is considerable. Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the negative tenor of the Sūtra I 3, 78, since there is no other instance in Pāṇini's work of a technical and important term being given vaguely and inferentially.

If, however, we apply to the present case the conclusions we have been already compelled to draw as to Pāṇini's having used accents as written signs, we may surmise the reason why

Westergaard and the MSS for instance of the roots *दिह्*, *अन्तु* etc (§21), *मिजिर्*, *मिजिर्*, *विष्लृ*, (§ 25), *वृष*, *इयुचिर्*, *गह*, *रञ्ज*, etc (§ 26), *दुद*, *गुद*, etc (§ 28) *रुधिर्*, *मिदिर्* etc (§ 29), etc for all these radicals have not the *anubandha* *ञ्*. A proof of the accuracy of the commentators in this respect, is afforded by the instance of the root *चञ्* (§24, 7) which is described in the Dhātupāṭha as *अनुदात्तेत्*, and represented at the same time as *चञिह्*, for they explain on this occasion that the *anubandha* *ह्* does not indicate the *ātmanepada*-inflection, marked by the term *अनुदात्तेत्*, but refers to the effect of the Sutra III 2, 149

udāttet is not amongst the terms employed by this grammarian. Of the three accents, *udāta*, *svārīta* and *anudāta* the two latter only are marked in the principal Vaidika writings, the *svārīta* being indicated by a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudāta* by a horizontal line under it. The syllable not marked is *udāta*. It is possible, therefore, to say that a radical or syllable which is not marked is *udāta*, and that one with a horizontal stroke under it is *anudāta*, it is possible, too, to speak of a line added under or over the last letter of the radical; but it is surely impossible to call that 'addition' (*anubandha*) which, not being visible, could not be added at all. This explanation of the absence of the term *udāttet* is founded, of course, on the supposition that the system of marking the accents was the same at Pāṇini's time, as it occurs in our MSS of the principal Veda-Samhitās, but it can hardly be doubted that this system is as deeply rooted in Hindu tradition as everything else connected with the preservation of the sacred books. If, then, it becomes certain that Pāṇini knew written accent signs, which were not pronounced, it will not be hazardous to put faith in the statement of Kaiyaṇa, that the *svārīta*, which was intended as a mark of an *adhikāra*, was also a written sign, a perpendicular stroke, "but had nothing to do with practical application."

That Pāṇini, as Patañjali tells us, and Kātyāyana gives us to understand, used letters in his *adhikāra* rules for the notation of numeral values, does not follow, we must admit, from his own words in the quoted Sūtra (I 3, 11), but there is a rule of his (VI 3, 115) in which he informs us that the owners of cattle were, at his time, in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable. Such signs, he says, were, for instance, a *svastika*, a ladle, a pearl, etc., yet he mentions besides, eight and five. Now, either the graziers used letters of the alphabet to denote these numerals, or they employed special figures, as we do. In either case it is obvious that they must have been acquainted with writing, in the latter, moreover, that the age to which they belonged had already overcome the primitive mode of denoting numerals by letters, and that writing must have been, therefore, already a matter

of the commonest kind At all events, and whichever alternative be taken—if even the Hindu cattle paraded the acquaintance of the Hindus with the art of writing and of marking numerals,—one may surely believe that Pāṇini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time, and that, like them, he resorted to the marking of numerals whenever it was convenient to him to do so

The absence of a letter or grammatical element, or even of a word, the presence of which would have been required by a previous rule, is called by Pāṇini *lopa*. The literal sense of this word, which is derived from *lup*, “to cut off,” is “cutting off” It will be conceded that it is not possible to “cut off” any but a visible sign, and that a metaphorical expression of this kind could not have arisen, unless the reality existed Indeed, the very definition which Pāṇini gives of this term must remove every doubt, if there existed any He says “*lopa* (‘cutting off’) is the not being seen” (*scil.*, of a letter, etc)⁶¹ For, whatever scope may be given to the figurative meaning of the radical “to see,” it is plainly impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight A letter or word, which is no more *seen*, or has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him And the same remark applies to an expression which occurs several times in the Sūtras, for Pāṇini speaks more than once of affixes which are *seen*, or of a vowel which is *seen* in words ⁶²

61 I 1, 60 अदर्शन लोपः ।

62 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते III 2, 178, 3, 130 — अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते III 2, 78 — अन्येषामपि दृश्यते VI 3, 137 — अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते III 2, 101 — इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते V 3, 14 — Though in the foregoing observations no conclusion of mine is founded on statements of the later grammarians alone it may not be without some interest to mention now that these grammarians do not seem to have conceived as much as the idea of Pāṇini’s grammar ever having existed except in writing For Kaiyāṭa, amongst others, refers to a written text of this grammar, even when there is no necessity whatever of making allusion to such a circumstance We

If it becomes evident from the foregoing arguments that Pāṇini not only wrote, but that writing was a main element in

must infer, therefore, that it was a matter of course to him to look upon Pāṇini's rules as having been at all times written rules. Thus, in commenting on the vowel *अ* of the *pratyāhāra* अक्, and in adverting to its last letter, he might have simply spoken of a letter क्, but he speaks of a letter-sign क्, "अत्र हि ककारेण चिह्नेन प्रत्याहारस्यो विदूषो निर्दिष्ट इति" — And when Professor Muller, as we shall presently see, avails himself of so late an authority as the *Viṃśatī Vārtikas* of Kumāra to prove or to make plausible facts concerning the highest antiquity, I will quote, as a counterpart, another late work which introduces to us the god Śiva himself as recommending the writing and wearing of grammatical texts as a means for the attainment of boons and the prevention of evils. I need not add that I look upon neither work as a sufficient authority to settle the points of the present discussion. The passage alluded to occurs in the chapter of a mystical dialogue between Śiva and his wife, called *Jñāna kāṇḍasheṣa rāhasya*, where Śiva, after having explained to Pārvatī the letters of the alphabet, concludes his instruction with the following words

एतद्व्याकरणं देवि लिखित्वा भूवेपथुके ।
 गोरोचनाङ्कुमेन तथा शङ्खचक्रनाथ ॥
 कण्ठे वा यदि वा बाहौ मस्तके वा वरानने ।
 सर्वव्याधिनिर्मुक्तौ दिनानां त्रितये मयेव ॥
 सन्तानार्थे पठेद्दिवाचारविवा सभाहित ।
 मयस्य हस्तने पुत्र बन्ध्याया मम तुल्यकम् ॥
 रणे रामकुले वीरे अग्नि व्याघ्रमयादिके ।
 स्मरणादेव नश्यति विमम्बरकथयामि ते ॥

1 e, "if a man writes this grammatical explanation on a birch-leaf, with a mixture of the yellow pigment *Gorochana* and saffron, or if he has it written by a scribe with the quill of a porcupine on his neck or his arm or his head, he becomes after three days free from all disease, and if a wise man, wishing for progeny, reads and retains it attentively, he is sure to obtain a son, who will be like me, from his (previously) barren wife. If a battle (rages), or the royal family spreads terror, or if a tiger causes alarm, or on similar occasions all danger vanishes in merely remembering (this grammatical explanation) What further shall I tell thee ?" etc

the *technical* arrangement of his rules, it may not be superfluous to ask, whether the sacred texts had been committed to writing at the time at which he lived, or whether they were preserved then by memory only? That the mere fact of learning the Veda does not disprove the possibility of its having been preserved by written letters also, is clear enough, and is indirectly acknowledged by Muller himself⁶³ He quotes, it is true, a passage from the Mahābhārata, and one from Kumārila's Vārttikas, which condemn, the one the writing of the Veda, and the other the learning it from a written text,⁶⁴ but I hold that neither quotation proves anything against the practice of writing the Veda at or before Pānini's time Both passages might, on the contrary, be alleged to confirm the fact that the offence of writing the Vedas had already been committed when these verses were composed They betray, it is true, as we should expect, the apprehension of their authors lest oral teaching might become superfluous, and the services of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste be altogether dispensed

63 History, etc., p 246 "The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart, and even at the present day, when MSS have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS'

64 p 502 "In the Mahābhārata, we read 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell' Kumārila says 'that knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Śādra'—The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted by Muller, occurs in the *Anusūsanap* verse 1645 I doubt, however, whether, his rendering of वेदानां चैव दूषका "those also who defile the Veda" is quite correct It seems to me that it means "those who corrupt the text of the Vedas," and that it is synonymous with the वेदविच्छादका which occurs in the second act of the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* (ed Brockhaus, p 20, l 14, ed Calc p 12a, l 5) The expression समयानां च दूषका which precedes by a few verses (*Anusūsanap* v 1639) i e, "those who vitiate agreements" is analogous There is, unhappily no comment of *Nīlakantha* on either of these passages

with, but they convey nothing else—not even the prohibition that the teacher or Guru himself might not have recourse to a written text of the Veda if he wanted to refresh his memory or to support his meditation. Nay, we may go further, and assert that by an authority certainly much older than both the authors of this passage of the Mahābhārata and the Mīmāṃsā-Vārttikas, all the first *three castes* were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidika texts. For, let us hear what the lawgiver Yājñavalkya says: “All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda, therefore the first three classes—the twice-born—should *see* it, and hear it.” But how could Yājñavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing?⁶⁵ And that Pāṇini, too, must have seen written Vaidika texts follows clearly, in my opinion, from two Sūtras, in which he says: “(the augment *ā*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule),” and “(the *ādesa an*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other cases of *asthi*, *dadhi*, etc.,

65 Yājñav III 191: स क्षात्रमेविन्द्रियास्व समस्तैरेवमेव तु ।

दृष्टव्यस्त्वथ मन्तव्य श्रोतव्यश्च दिजानिभि ।

Vijāṇesvara, the modern commentator of Yājñavalkya, who, like Kumārila, is evidently not pleased with the recommendation of ‘seeing’ the Veda, twists the construction of the latter passage into the following sense: “the twice-born should first hear (the expounding of) the Veda, then reflect on it and thus (by reflection) keep it present (to their mind).” In order to impart to the word “to see” the figurative sense, he reverses the entire, and, it would seem, natural order of the injunction, which recommends the twice-born first to look into the Veda, then to reflect on it, and ultimately to ask the teacher to give his own explanation of it, the latter becoming of course, more effectual, if the pupil is already somewhat familiar with his subject—Thus is the comment of the *Miṣa-kṣharā*: “यस्मान्नित्यतयात्मप्रमाणभूतो देवस्तस्यादसावुक्तमार्गेण सकलाश्रमिभिर्नानाप्रकार जिज्ञासितव्यस्तमेव प्रकार दर्शयन्ति । दिजानिभिर्दृष्ट योऽपरोक्षीकृतं वस्तुश्रोत्राय दर्शयन्ति-श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्य इति । प्रथमतो वेदान्तश्रवणेन निर्णेतवस्तदनन्तर मन्तव्यो वृत्तिभिर्विचारयितवस्ततोऽसौ ध्यानेनापरोक्षीभवति ।”

than those mentioned previously) ⁶⁶ It is on this ground that—while disapproving the loose manner in which the Siddhānta-kaumudī imparts to the word *grantha* in Pāṇini's Sūtra, I 3, 75, the meaning *Veda*,—I cannot altogether reject the identity which is established by this commentary between the two words, though it would have been better, in a gloss on Pāṇini, to have retained the distinction which he himself established for facilitating a clearer understanding of those Sūtras which refer to revealed books, and of others which speak of unrevealed ones ⁶⁷

There is but one other question which can be raised in connection with the present inquiry Was writing known *before* Pāṇini?

One word, of frequent occurrence in the Vaidika hymns, or rather the sense which is imparted to it, may enable us, perhaps to form an opinion on this difficult problem I mean the word *Rshi* It is explained by old and modern commentators as "a seer of hymns," a saint to whom those Vaidika hymns referred to his authorship, were revealed by a divinity Thus it is said in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rshi* Vāmadeva obtained *seeing* the *Rgveda-hymn*, IV 26, 1, or in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rshi* *seeing* the hymn II 41, 2, spoke it ⁶⁸ For reasons which will appear from the statement

66 VI 4, 73, and VII 1 76 छ इत्यपि दृश्यते ।

67 Compare note 27 I alluded above to the analogy which exists between the contrasted words *grantha-artha* and *kāṇḍa-paṭṭi* After having shown that the Veda was a written book at Pāṇini's time, I may now quote a passage from the Parisiṣṭa of the Nirukta (I 12) अथ मन्त्रार्थचिन्तासूत्रोऽसूत्रोऽस्ति श्रुतितोऽपि श्रुतौ न तु श्रुतत्वेन मन्त्रा निर्वर्तव्या प्रकरणा एव तु निर्वर्तव्या, which is thus rendered by Mr Muir, in his valuable work, "Original Sanskrit Texts" (vol II, p 188) "This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context" In this passage the words श्रुतितोऽपि श्रुतौ are equivalent of मन्त्रतोऽर्थनक्ष ।

68 Sa ap XIV 4, 2, 22 तद्धनत्पश्यन्निर्वाग्मदेव प्रातेपेदे । अहं मनुरभव नृपदेति—*Asar Br* 9, I तद्धनदृष्टिं पश्यन्नम्यन्वाच नियुक्तो इन्द्रमारधिरिति ।

I shall have to make on the chronological relation of these works to Pāṇini, I cannot appeal to these *Brāhmanas* as evidence for the present purpose, it is safer to quote Pāṇini himself who also speaks of hymns which are *seen* (IV 2, 7), and who must therefore be supposed to record an impression current at, and very probably anterior to his time. This probability, however, becomes a certainty when we consider the distinct evidence of Yāska, who says that "the Rshis see the hymns with all kinds of intentions," and who makes mention of a predecessor of his, a son or descendant of Upamanyu, who defined the word "*Rshi as coming from seeing, for he saw the hymns*"⁶⁹

There were authorities, consequently, before Pāṇini's time who maintained the doctrine that the hymns were revealed—not to the sense of hearing, but to the sense of sight. That the act of *seeing* may be applied metaphorically to the faculty of thinking or imagining, and the term *seen* to what is imagined or thought, is no matter of dispute. But when we read numerous hymns of the Rgveda which neither express a truth, nor depict nature or events of life, but which simply manifest the desire of a pious mind,—when we read, for instance, such sentences as, "may this oblation, Agni, be most acceptable to thee," or "may afflictions fall upon him who does not propitiate the gods," or "we address our pious prayers to thee, Agni," etc., what *metaphorical* meaning could connect such words with the notion of seeing?

Compare also Muller's "Ancient History," p 237 शौनके द्वितीय मण्डल दृष्टा, etc., or *Uvata* on the first verse of the *Rik-prstuskyha* (in the valuable edition of Mr Regnier, "Journal Asiatique," tome VII 1856, p 181) ऋषयो मन्त्रदृष्टा, or *Nagajibhatta* on Pāṇini, I 1, 1 ऋषीणां मन्त्रदृष्टार ऋषयः, or the same on IV 1, 79 ऋषिभ्यश्चेनात्र मन्त्रदृष्टार etc

69 *Nirukta*, 7, 3 एवमुच्चावचैरभिप्रायेऽऋषीणा मन्त्रदृष्टयो यवन्ति, and 2, 11 ऋषिभ्यश्चेनात्र । स्तोमानन्ददर्शस्त्यौपमन्यः । Hence Rshi becomes a synonyme of a Vaidika hymn. Compare *Pāṇini*, IV 4, 96, or *Sayana* on Rg-va I 189, ॥ ऋषिभिरतीन्द्रियाधप्रकाशकैर्मन्त्रैः ।

And we know, too, that it is not merely the general idea conveyed by a hymn, the ethical truth, or the picture of the elementary life, or the display of sacrificial rites, or the praise of the gods, of the imprecation against foes, which is looked to by the worshipper as having been revealed to a Rshi by a divinity,—but that the very words of the hymn, and the order in which they stand, were deemed equally a gift from above. The various methods devised by the learned to preserve the words in their integrity and to prevent their order from being disturbed, prove that they did not view these hymns in the light of mere revelations of truths, but in that of revelations of words and of sentences held sacred in the very order and form in which they appear. Nor does the fact that there were various Śākhās with various recensions of several hymns or passages of hymns, invalidate this argument, for each Śākhā claimed its text as the original one, as *the* revealed text, and its belief was, therefore, based on the same ground which was common to all.

If, then, such is the case, the word *seer* loses altogether the power of metaphorical expression, it then applies only to the material fact of seeing material words, such as the divinity holds before the seer's material eye. The inference to be drawn from these premises is obvious. It seems to derive some corroboration from a collateral fact. The Vaidika writings from immemorial times being communicated by the teacher to his pupil orally, and the pupil being bound to receive them in this and in no other way, their name, as we find it at the time of the Brāhmanas and Kalpa-Sūtras, is *śruti* "hearing," or the sacred text received by the sense of hearing. Though Pāṇini does not use this term, we may fairly admit, on account of his using the word *śrotṛiḥ*,⁷⁰ that he was acquainted with it, and that the same mode of studying the Vedas was already usual in his time. Now the contrast is marked between "seeing" the Veda and "hearing" it. In metaphorical language

70 II 1, 65, and V 2, 48. Compare also the Ganas to V 1, 130, 133 श्रुत in the Gana to V 2, 88, and श्रोत्रि in the Gana to IV 2, 138.

no proof exists that Rshi is conceived in the hymns as implying the seer of words or sentences. He may be there the real representative of the Roeh who sees the general idea of his prayer or praise, but fashions it with his own—uninspired—words. There are, we may add in proof of this assertion, various instances in the poetry of the Rgveda, where the poet is spoken of as having “composed” (literally *fabricated* or *generated*), not as having “seen,” a hymn, and they belong undoubtedly to real antiquity, as they show greater common sense. Thus it is said in the Rgveda (I 171, 2) “this praise accompanied with offerings, Maruts, is made (lit *fabricated*) for you by the heart,” or (VI 16, 47) “we offer to thee, Agni, the clarified butter in the shape of a hymn made (lit *fabricated*) by the heart,” or (I 109, 1, 2) “my clear understanding has been given to me by no one else than by you, Indra and Agni, with it I have made (lit *fabricated*) to you this hymn, the product of intelligence, which intimates my desire for sustenance: For I have heard that you are more munificent givers than an unworthy bridegroom or the brother of a bride, therefore, in offering you the Soma, I produce (lit *generate*) for you a new hymn,” or (VII 7, 6) “these men who have cleverly made (lit *fabricated*) the hymn, have increased the prosperity of all (living beings) with food.”⁷³ And when the poet says in a Vālakhilya hymn “Indra and Varuna, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech” *seeing* is obviously used by him in none but a metaphorical sense.⁷⁴

following analogies दृष्ट् (= दृष्ट्) and श्रुत्, दृक् and श्रुत्, दृ (दृष्टोति) and श्रु (श्रुति), दृत् (respected) and श्रुत् (respected), दृष्ट् and श्रुत् (whence श्रुत्), दिव् (to be glad) and दृष्ट्, दृष्ट् and श्रुत् ।

73 Compare, for other instances, Muir’s ‘Original Sanskrit Texts,’ vol II p 208, note 163, and ■ 220

74 Compare *ibid* p 220 इन्द्रवज्रं यदृष्टिम्बो मनासा वाचो यदि श्रुतमदत्तमे । नयसाभ्यसद्वत् । In the same sense Tāila says (I 20) एतानां ह्यनुभवांश्च श्रुत्वा वदन्, ‘the Rshis had an intuitive insight into duty’ (Muir, vol II p 174), and Śāyana e.g. in his gloss on Rgv I 162, 7 श्रुत्वा श्रोत्रादियद्वत्, or on IV 36, 6 श्रुत्वा श्रोत्रादियद्वत् ।

There are in the Vaidika age, says Professor Muller (p 70), "four distinct periods which can be established with sufficient evidence. They may be called the *Chhandas period*, *Mantra period*, *Brāhmaṇa period*, and *Sūtra period*, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them earliest hymns of the Rgveda, such as he conceives them to be according to the instances he has selected from the bulk of this Veda (p 525 ff). The Mantra period is, in his opinion, represented by the remaining part of the Rgveda (p 456 ff), and the Brāhmaṇa period by the Sāma-veda-samhitā, "or the prayer-book of the Udgātṛ priests," which is entirely collected from the Rgveda,⁷⁵ the Samhitās of the Yajurveda (p 457), the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas, properly so called, and "on the frontier between the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature," the oldest theological treatises or Āranyakas and Upanishads (p 313 ff). Lastly, the Sūtra period contains, according to him (p 71 ff), the Vaidika words written in the Sūtra style, viz the six Vedāṅgas or the works on "Śikṣā (*pronunciation*), Chhandas (*metre*) Vyākaraṇa (*grammar*) Nirukta (*explanation of words*) Jyotiṣa (*astronomy*), and Kalpa (*ceremonial*)" (p 113 ff).

An author has, in general, the right of choosing his term, nor should I consider it necessary to add a remark on the names by which Muller designates these four periods of his Ancient History, were it not to obviate a misunderstanding which he has not guarded against, though it may be of consequence to do so. Two terms which have served him for the marking of two periods of the ancient literature, viz, *Sātra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, have been used by him nearly in the same sense in which they occur in the ancient writers, and if he

75 Professor Leney has pointed out, in his valuable edition of this Veda, the few verses which cannot be found in the Rgveda (Pref p xix). This redundancy, which is apparently at variance with the general doctrine of the Hindu commentators, that the Śāmaveda is extracted from the Rgveda, proves, in reality, that there must have been at one time, another recension of the Rgveda than that which we possess now, a fact clearly proved also by Muller's "Ancient History."

The first meaning of *Chhandas*, in the ancient writers, is metre, the second is verse in general, and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the Yajurveda. Thus the *Purusha-sūkta* of the Rgveda—the late origin of which hymn is proved by its contents—says ⁷⁷ “From this sacrifice which was offered to the universal spirit sprang the *Rchas* (Rg-verses), the *Sāmans* (Sāma veda-verses), the metrical passages (*Chhandas*) and the *Yajus*,” which latter words seem to be referable only to the two characteristic portions of the Yajurveda, since *Yajus* in general designates its prosaic part. In a verse of the *Atharva-veda* it is contrasted, in a similar manner, with the Yajur-veda, and seems to imply there the verses of the *Atharva-veda*. “From the remainder of the sacrifice sprang the *Rchas*, *Sāmans*, the verses (*Chhandas*) the old legendary lore, together with the *Yajus*” ⁷⁸. In the *Sūtras* of Pānini the word *Chhandas* occurs, in rules which concern Vaidika words, one hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty three *Sūtras*, in rules of this category it means Veda in general, comprising thus the *Mantra*—as well as the *Brāhmaṇa*—portion of the

इत्यादयः परिदेवनरूपाः । पृच्छामि त्वा परमन्तं पृथिव्या इत्यादयः प्रश्नरूपाः । वेदिमाहुः परमन्तं पृथिव्या इत्यादयः उत्तररूपाः । इवमयदभ्युदाहार्यम् etc. II 1, 10—12
पादव्येनार्यव्येन चोपेता वृत्तवद्वा मन्त्रा ऋचः । गीतिरूपा मन्त्रा मामानि । वृत्त
गीतिवर्जितत्वेन प्रहिष्टपठिता मन्त्रा यजूंशीत्युक्ते न कापि मङ्कुर — II 1, 13
नलो मन्त्राणां त्रैविध्यं दृष्टिमतम् ।

77 Rgveda (X 90, 9) नत्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वं वृत्तं ऋचः सामानि जगिरे ।
छन्दांसि जगिरे तत्समाद्यज्ञस्तत्समादजायत ॥

Skyāna, it is true, renders छन्दांसि with गायत्र्यादीनि when the word would simply mean “metre,” but it does not seem natural that the enumeration of the three Vedas should be interrupted by a word meaning “metre,” while on the other hand the word *Yajus* alone might have left a doubt as to whether the metrical contents of this Veda are included in it or not.

78 Athrv XI 7, 24 ऋचः सामानि च्छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।
उच्छिष्टाजगिरे etc. — In this sentence *Chhandas* is separated from the word *Yajus* by the word *Purāṇa*, which here probably implies the legends of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Veda. Whenever, therefore, such a general rule concerning a Vaidika word is restricted or modified in the Mantra, and thus assumes the sense of Brāhmana, or whenever such a general rule is restricted or modified in the Brāhmana portion, Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Brāhmana and therefore assumes the sense of Mantra ⁷⁹

79 Thus it is used by Pāṇini in the general sense of *veda* I 2, 61, 4, 9 20 81, II 3, 3 4, 28 39 73 76, III 1, 42 80 89 84 123 2, 63 88 105 137 170, 3, 129, 4, 6 88 117, IV 1, 29 46 59, 3, 19 150, 4, 106, 110, etc. It is contrasted with *Mantra*, for instance, I 2, 36 (comp 34 35 37), III 2, 73 (comp 71 72), with *Brāhmana* for instance, IV 2, 66, IV 3, 106 (comp 105) —The meaning "desire" of the word *chhandas* has not been mentioned above, as being irrelevant for the present purpose, nor was it necessary to give passages from Pāṇini where the word has the general sense "metre," such as III 3, 34, etc., or as base becomes the subject of rules respecting its derivatives —Professor Weber has adverted in his "Indische Studien" (vol 1 p 29 note) to the manner in which Pāṇini has used *chhandas* : he defines it, however, meaning first, "desire," then "a prayer of desire, prayer, mantra, contrasted with *Brāhmana* IV 2, 66, then in more extended sense, even *brāhmanārtham*, III 2, 73' [or shall this mean, asks he, *brāhmana-parāśārtham* ? Certainly not, for the word is contrasted in III 2, 73 with the word *mantra* of III 2, 71 (72), and implies therefore in this Sūtra the sense *brāhmana*], and then "in the widest sense, generally, *veda*, as contrasted with *śoke*, *bhāṣāyām* and its slokas (IV 3, 102a)" [The latter instance is not happy, since it belongs to a Vārttika of the Aṣṭakī, and since there are more than a hundred Sūtras of Pāṇini which might have been referred to for the corroboration of the sense *veda*] Lastly he says, it means "metre" —But this reversal of the meanings of *chhandas* is not only objectionable etymologically, it prevents our understanding how *chhandas* could mean both a poetical and a prosaic passage of the Vedas. Hence, the incidental question of Weber and his conjecture, —which could not have arisen if he had started from the general sense *veda*, which if contrasted (but only then) with *mantra*, would imply the sense *Brāhmana*, and vice versa. It seems, moreover, that the sense "desire" marks the last stage of its development, in short, that *chhandas* means

From no passage, however, in the ancient literature, can we infer that *Mantra* conveyed or implied the idea of a later portion, and *Chhandas* that of an earlier portion of the Rgveda hymns

Some very questionable points in the detail of this distribution of the Vaidika literature will be noticed by me hereafter as touching the ground on which I have raised this inquiry into the chronological results of Professor Muller's work. There is, however, one general question which must be dealt with previously. If Muller had contented himself with simply arranging his subject-matter as he has done, we could readily assent to the logical or æsthetical point of view which, we might have inferred, had guided him in planning his work. But he does not allow us to take this view, when he assigns dates to these periods severally. The "Chhandas period," he says, comprises the space of time from 1200 to 1000 P C (p 572), the "Mantra period" from 1000 to 800 B C (pp 497, 572), the Brāhmana period" from 800 to 600 B C (p 435), and the "Sūtra period" from 600 to 200 B C (pp 249, 313). In other words, his arrangement is meant to be an historical one. He does not classify ancient Sanskrit literature into a scientific, a ritual, a theological literature, each of which might have had its *coeval representatives* but he implies by these dates that when the poetical epoch, his Chhandas- and Mantra- epoch, had terminated its verses, the theological time, that of the Brāhmanas and Upanishads etc, set to work, and when this had done with theology, the ritual and scientific period displayed its activity, until it paused about 200 B C. I need scarcely observe that such an assumption is highly improbable, unless we suppose that India which, from the time of Herodotus, has always enjoyed the privilege of being deemed the land of supernatural facts, has also in this matter set at defiance the ordinary law of human development. But this doubt seems to derive some support from Muller's own arguments. In the course of his researches he has confirmed the general opinion,

1 metre, 2 a verse, 3a a verse as prayer, b Veda in general, which may become modified to Mantra or Brāhmana, 4 desire

that a Sūtra work presupposes, of necessity, the existence of a Brāhmaṇa, and that a Brāhmaṇa cannot be conceived without a collection of hymns, the Samhitā. Thus the ritual Sūtras of Āśvalāyana would have been impossible unless a Brāhmaṇa of the Rgveda—for instance, the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa,—had been known to him; for he founds his precepts on it, and such a Brāhmaṇa, in quoting the hymns of the Rgveda, implies, as a matter of course, a previous collection of hymns, a Rgveda itself. Yet though this argument is unexceptionable, and may be used, perhaps—not without objections of some weight—so as to presuppose in Āśvalāyana a knowledge of, and therefore as prior to him, a Sāmaveda and a Taittirīya-Samhitā—where is the logical necessity that the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (belonging to Muller's third period, 800—600 B C) existed before Āśvalāyana who lived, according to him, between 600 and 200 before Christ? His Sūtras would be perfectly intelligible if neither of the two last-named works had been composed at all. And, again, where is the logical necessity that the Upanishads should have been written before the authors of the Kalpa Sūtras, the Grammar, etc., since all these works are quite independent in spirit and in substance from the theosophy of Upanishads or Aranyakas. On what ground does Professor Muller separate Pāṇini from these latter writings by at least 250 years, when there is no trace of any description in his Sūtras, either that he knew this kind of literature or that his Grammar would not have been exactly the same as it is now if he had lived much before the time of these theological works? I shall recur to this latter question, but I cannot conclude the expression of my misgivings as to this historical division without questioning, too, the usefulness of these dates in general. They are not founded as Muller himself repeatedly admits, on any basis whatever.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 244. "It will readily be seen, how entirely hypothetical all these arguments are. As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B C as the limits of that age during which the Brāhmaṇic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras." p. 435. "Considering, therefore, that the Brāhmaṇa period must com-

Neither is there a single reason to account for his allotting 200 years to the three first of his periods, nor for his doubling this amount of time in the case of the Sūtra period. He records, it is true, his personal impression alone in speaking of 1200, 1000 years, and so on, but the expediency of giving vent to feelings which deal with hundreds and thousands of years, as if such abstract calculations were suitable to the conditions of human life, appears very doubtful, if we consider that there are many who will not read his learned work with the special interest and criticism which it inspires in a Sanskrit philologist, but will attach a much higher import to his feelings, than he himself does. One omission, moreover, I cannot leave unnoticed in these general dates, since it has a bearing, not merely on the intervals of his periods, but on their starting points.

Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, speaks of the Jyotisha, the ancient Vaidika calendar, and after having quoted

prehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brāhmana, the formation of Brāhmana-charanas and the schism between old and new Charanas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years. Of course this is merely conjectural, but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years of that mass of Brāhmanic literature which still exists, or is known to have existed" p 497 "I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Mantra period between 800 and 1000 B C" [Where is the least probability of this date?] p 572 "The chronological limits assigned to the Sutra and Brāhmana periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to the Mantra period from 800 to 1000 B C, and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B C, we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of his ory thr growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world" — Fut is 1200 B C a primary age of the world, except in biblical geology?

■ "remarkable" passage of this Vedāṅga, in which the then place of the colures is stated, continues (M E vol I p 109, or As Res VIII p 493) "Hence it is clear that Dhanishthā and Aśleshā are the constellations meant, and that when this Hindu calendar was regulated, the solstitial points were reckoned to be at the beginning of the one, and in the middle of the other — and such was the situation of those cardinal points, in the *fourteenth century before the Christian era* I formerly (As Res VII p 283, or Essays, I p 201) had occasion to show from another passage of the Vedas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, and as also suggested in the passage now quoted from the Jyotisha, agrees with such a situation of the cardinal points"

We have evidence, therefore, from this passage of the Jyotisha, that an arrangement of Vaidika hymns must have been completed in the fourteenth century before Christ, and as such an arrangement cannot have preceded the origin of the hymns comprised by it, we have evidence that these hymns do not belong to a more recent date. Nor is there any ground for doubting the genuineness of this calendar, or for assuming that the Hindu astronomers, when it was written, had knowledge enough to forge a combination, or if they had, that, in the habit of dealing with millions of years, they would have used this knowledge for the sake of forging an antiquity of a few hundred years. Yet the oldest hymns of the Rgveda are, according to Muller's opinion, not older than 1200 before Christ.

He has not only not invalidated the passage I have quoted, but he has not even made mention of it. Yet a scholar like Colebrooke, laid, as I have shown great stress on it — it is he who calls it "remarkable," and scholars like Wilson and Lassen have based their conclusions on Colebrooke's words.⁸¹ Should we, therefore, be satisfied with the absolute silence of Muller on the statements and opinions of these distinguished scholars, or account for it by the words of his preface?⁸²

81 See Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde," I p 747. Wilson's Introduction to his Translation of the Rgveda, vol I p xlviii.

82 Page vi. "Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more

No one, indeed, to the best of my knowledge, has ever doubted the accuracy of Colebrooke's calculation, but Professor Weber, who, in his "Indische Studien," vol 1 p 85, thus expresses himself — "I avail myself of this opportunity to observe that before Colebrooke's astronomical calculation (M E 1 p 110, 201) has been examined once more, astronomically, and found correct, I cannot make up my mind, to assign to the present Jyotiḥ-Śāstras, the composition of which betrays—in language and style—a recent period, any historical importance whatever for the fixing of the time when the Vedas were composed." Thus it seems that Professor Weber would make up his mind to that effect if some one would comply with his desire, and confirm the result of Colebrooke's calculation. But, we must ask, on what ground rests this desire, which, in other words, is nothing but a very off-hand slur aimed at Colebrooke's scholarship or accuracy? Is Colebrooke a third-rate writer, to deserve this supercilious treatment? Has he, in his editions or translations of texts, taken such liberties as to forfeit our confidence? Has he falsified antiquity by substituting for its traditions his own foregone conclusions or ignorance? Has he appropriated to himself the labour of others, or meddled with subjects he did not thoroughly understand? His writings, one would think, prove that he is a type of accuracy and conscientiousness,—an author in whom even unguarded expressions are of the rarest kind, much more so, errors or hasty conclusions drawn from erroneous facts. But Colebrooke was not only a distinguished Sanskritist, he was an excellent astronomer. Lassen calls him the profoundest judge in matters of Hindu astronomy, ■ and he is looked upon as such by common

apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I have throughout carefully abstained from it. Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn from these facts."

83 "Indische Alterth" vol I p 824 "Ueber die Fortschritte der Inder in der Astronomie in der ältesten Zeit drückt sich der gründlichste Kenner des Gegenstandes (Colebrooke, a a O II p 447) auf folgende Weise aus, etc."

consent Yet, to invalidate the testimony of a scholar of his learning and character, Professor Weber, simply because a certain date does not suit his taste, and because his feelings, unsupported by any evidence, make him suppose that the Jyotisha "betrays in language and style a very recent period," has nothing to say but that he "will not make up his mind" to take that date for any good until somebody shall have examined that which Colebrooke had already examined, and, by referring to it, had relied upon as an established fact !

It is but just to add, that three or seven years after he had administered this singular lesson to Colebrooke, Weber once more is haunted by the asterisms Dhanishthā and Asleshā, and once more rejects their evidence as to Hindu antiquity ⁸⁴ This time, however, it is no longer the accuracy of Colebrooke's statement which inspires his doubt — he passes it over in silence altogether — but the origin of the arrangement of the Hindu *Nakshatras* "Since," he says, "the latter was not made by the Hindus themselves, but borrowed from the Chaldeans, it is obvious that no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it respecting Hindu antiquity" ⁸⁵ But he does not mention that Lassen, whose opinion will have, I assume, as much claim to notice as his own, had adduced weighty reasons for assigning the Hindu *Nakshatras* to Chinese origin, and had likewise, referring to the Veda-calendar, observed — "As it is certain now that there existed in ancient times an intercourse, not thought of hitherto, between the Hindus and the Chinese, and that, with the latter, the use of the *sieu* ascends to a far higher antiquity, no objection can be founded on the Chinese origin of the *Nakshatras*, against their having been used by the Hindus at a time which is adverted to in their oldest astronomical observations on record These observations belong to the fourteenth century B C, and it results from them that the Hindus at that period dwelt in the northern part of India" ⁸⁶

84 In an essay on "Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen," written in April, 1853, and printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857

85 "Indische Skizzen" p 73, note

86 "Indische Alterthumskunde," vol I p 747

But, strange to remark, a year after having expressed his repeated doubt, Professor Weber records his poetical views on the earliest period of Hindu civilisation in the following manner —“From the Kabul river to the Sadāntrā, from the remotest point of the western to that of the eastern border of India, there are twenty degrees, three hundred : geographical miles, which had to be conquered (by the Āryas) one after the other. Thus we are able to claim, without any further remark, 1000 years as a minimum time for the period of occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and brāhmanising this immense tract of land, and thus we are brought back to about 1500 B. C. as the time when the Indian Āryas still dwelt on the Kabul, and after they commenced to extend themselves over India ” *

In short, with fantastical certainty he scruples about astronomical facts, and presents fantastical facts with astronomical certainty. I doubt whether this critical method will strengthen the faith of the general public in certain results of Sanskrit philology.

“If we succeed,” says Professor Müller (p. 215), “in fixing the relative age of any one of these Sūtrakāras, or writers of Sūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vaidika and the classical literature of India.” This inference does not seem conclusive, for neither can the age of one individual author be held sufficient to fix the extent of a period which, according to Müller’s own views, may embrace, at least, 400 years, and probably more, nor has Muller shown that the older portions of the Mahābhārata and, perhaps, the Rāmāyana, might not have co-existed with some, at least of the authors of his Sūtra period. He says, it is true, in the commencement of his work (p. 68) —“Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh-śloka* is a metre unknown during the Vaidika age, and every work written in it

87 “Die neuen Forschungen über das alte Indien. Ein Vortrag im Berliner wissenschaftlichen Verein gehalten am 4 März, 1854,” printed in the “Indische Skizzen,” 1857, p. 14.

* It contains eight syllables in every quarter of the stanza.

may at once be put down as post-Vaidika. It is no valid objection that this epic *Śloka* occurs also in Vaidika hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmanas, and that, in some of the Sūtras, the Anushtubh-*śloka* occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs,[†] and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature. But this very important assertion, even with its last restriction, is left by him without any proof. For, when he adds, in a note (p. 69), "It is remarkable that in Pāṇini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vaidika literature (Pāṇ. IV 2, 66, IV 3, 102, v 1, IV 3, 107)," I must observe, in the first place, that in none of these quotations does the word *Śloka* belong to Pāṇini.⁸⁸ The first of these instances, where *Śloka* occurs, cannot be traced to a higher antiquity than that of Patañjali, the second, which coincides with it, occurs in the commentary of the late Kāśikā on a Vārttika, the antiquity of which rests on the authority of this work, and, in the last quoted rule, the word *Śloka* likewise belongs to no other authority than that of the same late commentary. But, in the second place, it seems to me that these very instances may be used to prove exactly the reverse of Muller's views.

I should quite admit the expediency of his observation if its object had been to lay down a criterion by which a class of works might become recognisable. There is, however, clearly,

† It is a metre which contains twelve syllables in a quarter.

88 The quotation of Muller's note to his p. 69 are IV 1, 66, 7 instead of IV 2, 66, and IV 3, 102, 1, instead of IV 3, 142, v 1, but as the word *śloka* neither occurs in the Sūtra, nor in the Vārttika nor in the commentaries on the former quotations, I was probably right in assuming that they were errors of the press and in substituting for them the figures given, which are the nearest approach to them. There is indeed one Sūtra of Pāṇini where *śloka* and *mantra* are mentioned together, viz, the Sūtra III 2, 23, but I am not aware that any conclusion similar to that mentioned above could be drawn from it.

a vast difference between an external mark, concerning the contents of certain writings, and the making of such a mark a basis for computing *periods* of literature. For, when Patañjali or the Kāśikā, in illustrating the rules IV 2, 66, or IV 3, 102, says that a Vaidika composition of *Tittiri* is called *Taittiriya*, but that such a derivative would not apply to the Ślokas composed by Tittiri, they distinctly contrast the two kinds of composition, but they as distinctly state that the same personage was the author of both. And the same author, of course, can not belong to two different *periods* of literature, separated, as Muller suggests, from one another by at least several centuries. The same remark applies to the instance by which the Kāśikā exemplifies the import of the rule IV 3, 107, it contrasts here the Vaidika work with the Ślokas of the same author, *Caraka*.

But I will give some other instances, which, in my opinion, corroborate the doubt I have expressed as to the chronological bearing of this word. Kātyāyana, who is assigned by Muller to the Sūtra period, and rightly so, so far as the character of some of his works is concerned, is the author of Ślokas which are called *Bhṛāja*, "the Splendid." This fact is drawn from Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇini and Kaiyyata's gloss on Patañjali (p 23 and 24 of Dr Ballantyne's valuable edition) ⁸⁹ Now, the word Śloka, if used in reference to whole works, always implies the Anushtubh-śloka thus Müller himself properly calls the laws of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Parāśara, "Śloka-works" (p 86). It would seem, therefore, that the *Bhṛāja-Ślokas* of Kātyāyana were such a work in continuous Anushtubhs. A second instance is the *Karmapradīpa*, which is a work of the same Kātyāyana, and is mentioned as such by Müller himself (p 235) on the authority of Shadguruśishya, it is written in the "regular and continuous Anushtubh-śloka," as every one may ascertain from the existing MS copies of this work. *Vyādī* or *Vyāṭi*, who is an earlier authority than

III Patañjali (p 23) : क पुनरिदं पठितम् । आत्रा नाम श्लोका
—Kaiyyata (p 24) कात्यायनोपनिषद्भ्रजानामश्लोकमध्यपठितस्य त्वस्य धृतिमु-
पादिकारितः । एक शब्दं सुवाच सुप्रयुक्तं सर्वे लोके कामपुष्पवतीति—Nāgajibhatta
(p 23) आत्रा नाम कात्यायनप्रणीता श्लोका इत्याहुः ।

Kātyāyana (see Muller's History, p. 241) composed a work *Sangraha*, or "Compendium" in one hundred thousand Ślokas, and there can be little doubt that this information, which is given by Nāgojibhatta, applies to a work in the *continuous* Anushtubh verse.⁹⁰ And this very *Vyādi*, I may here state, will thereafter become of peculiar interest to us on account of his near relationship to Pāṇini. It is evident, therefore, that the "uniform employment of that metre" is not a criterion necessitating the relegation of a work written in it to a period more recent than 200 before Christ.

The "writer of *Sūtra*" which, in Muller's opinion, may help us to fix the whole period of the *Sūtra* literature, is KĀTYĀYANA and if I do not mistake his meaning, PĀṆINI too. For Muller arrives at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived about 350 B. C., and, if I am right, that Pāṇini was his contemporary.⁹¹ he

90 Patañjali (ed. Ballantyne, p. 43) सग्रह एतत्प्राचा येन परीक्षितम्—
Kaiyyaṭa . सग्रह इति । ग्रन्थविशेषे—Nāgojibhatta . सग्रहो व्यादिकृतो लक्षश्लो-
कसंख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्धिः—This remark concerns the use which is made of
the word Śloka in reference to whole, especially extensive, works. *Single*
verses, not of the Anushtubh class, are sometimes also called Ślokas,
thus Kaiyyaṭa calls so the 'Arya'¹ verse of the *Āṅgikā* to II 4, 85, or IV
4, 9, etc., or the *Dadhaka*² verses of the *Āṅgikā* to VI 4, 12, or VIII
2, 108, and Nāgojibhatta gives the name of Śloka to the *Indrasayra*³ and
*Upendrasayra*⁴ of the *Āṅgikā* to I I 38, but I know of no instance in
which a whole work written in such verses is simply spoken of as having
been written in Ślokas.

91 I regret that I am not able to refer with greater certainty to
Muller's view on their contemporaneity. In page 133 he writes "Kātyā-
yana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini," p. 245 "Now, if Pāṇini
lived in the middle of the fourth century B. C., etc." [this is the date
which Muller assigns to Kātyāyana] p. 303, 'the old Kātyāyana

- 1 यस्या पादे प्रथमे द्वादश मात्रास्तथा तृतीयेऽपि ।
अष्टादश द्वितीये चतुर्थके पञ्चदश सार्वर्षा ॥
- 2 दोषकवृत्तमिदं भगवद्गीता ।
- 3 स्यादिन्द्रवज्रा यदि तौ जगौ ग ।
- 4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा तु जतौ जगौ ग ।

reason for assigning this date to Kātyāyana is contained in the following passage of the "Ancient Sanskrit Literature" — "Let us consider," says Muller, after having established the identity of Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana Vararuchi (p 240 ff) "the

Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pāṇini," but at p. 184 he says "at the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pāṇini" — which clearly implies that he here considers Pāṇini's time as prior to Kātyāyana's, since Kātyāyana wrote a critical work on Pāṇini, the *Vārttikas*, and on p 44, 45 he observes "if, then, Āvalīyana can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor of Pāṇini, etc," but p 239 "we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils first, Śaunaka, after him, Āvalīyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works, thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āvalīyana, fourthly, Patañjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana's works, and lastly, Vyāsa, who commented on a work of Patañjali. It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āvalīyana or that Patañjali lived immediately after Kātyāyana, but the smallest interval which we can admit between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger." Now, if according to the first alternative of p 45, Āvalīyana was a contemporary of Pāṇini, the latter becomes a doubtful contemporary of Kātyāyana, according to the quotation from p 239, and if, according to the other alternative of p 45, Āvalīyana was a successor of Pāṇini, there is according to p 239, still a greater probability that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were not contemporaries. Again, at p 230, he says "from all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that the relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Śikṣā, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana." But if Āvalīyana is an immediate successor of Pāṇini (p 45), and an immediate successor of Śaunaka (p 239), Pāṇini and Śaunaka must be contemporaries, and if Śaunaka is anterior to Kātyāyana (p 230, and comp p 242), Pāṇini, too, must have preceded Kātyāyana. Acting, therefore, on the rule of probabilities, and perceiving that Müller three times distinctly calls Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and allows by inference only this date to be subverted two and a half times, it is fair to assume that he believed rather in the contemporaneity of both, than otherwise. The correctness of this belief I shall have

information which we receive about Kātyāyana Vararuchi from Brāhmanic sources. Somadevabhata of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-sarit-sāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories. Here we read that Kātyāyana Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśāmbī, the capital of Vatsa. He was a boy of great talent, and extraordinary powers of memory. He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the theatre, and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the Prātiśākhya which he had heard from Vyāli. He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy. By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pāṇini. Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pāṇini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it. He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pāṭaliputra.

"We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pāṇini's Grammar, such as we now possess it"⁹² His Vārttikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pāṇini. The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact. Again, we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of the Prātiśākhya, and

to make the subject of further discussion, but when I find myself compelled to infer from Müller's expressions that Pāṇini is, to him, a contemporary of Śaunaka, I must in passing, observe that Pāṇini himself repudiates this conclusion, for in the Sūtra IV 3, 106, which is intimately connected with IV 3, 105, Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an *ancient authority*.

⁹² Note of Müller. "The same question with regard to the probable age of Pāṇini, has been discussed by Prof. Eöchtlingk in his edition of Pāṇini. Objections to Prof. Eöchtlingk's arguments have been raised by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*. See also *Rg veda*, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction."

Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the *Prātsākhya*s as an earlier authority on the same subject. So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of Shadguruśiṣya and with the facts as we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana. It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word, yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, Śaunaka and Āsvalāyana. If Somadeva followed the same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman Kāthana Pandita, the author of the *Rājataranginī* or History of Kashmir, he would, in calling Pānini and Kātyāyana the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them long before the times which we are wont to call historical. But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology. Chandragupta, of Pātaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator, and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries. C We shall have to examine hereafter the different accounts which the Buddhists and *Brāhmanas* give of Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the Nandas. Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva's story, in the second half of the fourth century. C We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana himself minister of Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta's accession to the throne. This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story,⁹³ and had to be inserted in order to connect Kātyāyana's story with other fables of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. But there still remains this one fact, how-

93 Note of Müller. "According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. As Res. xx p. 167."

ever slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A D, the popular tradition of the *Brāhmanas* connected the famous grammarians Kātyāyana and Pāṇini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Śūdra dynasty, and this, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B C”

Thus, the whole foundation of Muller's date rests on the authority of Somadeva, the author of “an Ocean of [or rather, for] the Rivers of Stories,” who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ. Somadeva, I am satisfied, would, not be a little surprised to learn that “a European point of view” raises a “ghost story” of his to the dignity of an historical document. Muller himself, as we see, says that it would be “wrong to expect in a work of this kind “historical or chronological facts,” he is doubtful as to the date which might have been in Somadeva's mind when he speaks of King Nanda, he will “disregard” the fact that Kātyāyana becomes, in the tale quoted, a minister of Nanda, he admits that a story current in the middle of the 12th century about Kātyāyana and Pāṇini is but a “slender” fact, — in short, he pulls down every stone of this historical fabric, and yet, because Nanda is mentioned in this amusing tale, he ‘must’ place Kātyāyana's life about 350 B C

I have but one word to add. however correct the criticisms of Muller on the value of this tale may be, the strength of his conclusion would have become still more apparent than it is now, if instead of the abstract of the story, which he has given, a literal translation of it had preceded his premises, for the very form of the tale, and its incidental absurdities, would have illustrated, much better than his sober account of it, its value as a source of chronology. I subjoin, therefore, a portion of it, from the fourth chapter of this work. Kātyāyana, the grammatical saint and author of the Kalpa sūtras, after having told Kānabhūti how once upon a time he became enamoured of a beautiful damsel, by what feelings he was moved, and that he at last married the fair Upakośā, continues as follows

"Some time after, Varsha (who in another tale is said to have lived at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Nanda) had a great number of pupils . One of them was a *great blockhead*, by the name of Pāṇini . he, tired of the service, was sent away by the wife of Varsha . To do penance, he went, grieved yet desirous of knowledge, to the Himālaya, there he obtained from Śiva, who was pleased with his fierce austerities, a new grammar which was the introduction to all science . Now he came back and challenged me to a disputation, and seven days passed on while our disputation proceeded . When on the eighth day, however, he was defeated by me, instantly Śiva (appeared) in a cloud (and) raised a tremendous uproar . Thus my grammar, which had been given to me by Indra, was destroyed on earth, and we all, vanquished by Pāṇini, became fools again "

It is almost needless for me to state, that the *profound* researches of Dr Otto Boehtlingk in his '*commentary*' on Pāṇini, are based on the same interesting "*Ocean for the Rivers of Stories*," and have duly advocated the same date of Pāṇini's life . But as we have become already acquainted with the *reasoning* of the "*editor*" of Pāṇini, it will not appear devoid of interest to recall his arguments, which differ in several respects from those of Professor Muller . In the Rājataranginī, the Chronicle of Kashmir, he says (p xv), we read that Abhimanyu ordered Chandra and other grammarians to introduce the great commentary of Patañjali into Kashmir . Now, continues he (p xvii), "the age of King Abhimanyu, under whose reign Chandra lived, can be ascertained by various ways, which all lead to the same result," viz, to the date 100 B C and (p xviii) "since we have found that Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya came into general use in Kashmir through Chandra, about 100 B C, we are probably justified in pushing the composition of this great commentary to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, into the year 150 . Between Patañjali and Pāṇini there are still three grammarians known to us, as we have observed before (p xiv, viz, Kātyāyana, the author of the Paribhāṣhās, and the author of the Kārīkās), who made contributions to the Grammar of Pāṇini . We need therefore only make a space of fifty years

between each couple of them, in order to arrive at the year 350, into the neighbourhood of which date our grammarian is to be placed, according to the Kathā-sarit sāgara

"Every way," says the French proverb, "leads to Rome,"—but not every way leads to truth, even in chronology. There is one way, for instance, and it was the proper way, which led Professor Lassen⁹⁴ to the correct result that Abhimanyu did not live about 100 B C, but between 40 and 65 after Christ. As to the triad of grammarians which is "known" to Dr. Boehtlingk between Pānini and Patañjali, and represented to his mind by Kātyāyana, and what he calls *the* author of the Paribhāṣhās and *the* author of the Kārikās, I must refer to my subsequent statements, which will show the worth of this specious enumeration. But when Dr Boehtlingk required 200 years between Patañjali and Pānini simply to square his account with the "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," it would be wrong to deny that he has rightly divided 200 by 4, nor should I doubt that he would have managed with less ability the more difficult task of dividing 2000 or 20000 years by 4, if such an arithmetical feat had been required of him by that source of historical chronology, the Kathā-sarit-sāgara

Professor Muller must have had some misgivings like my own as to the critical acumen and accuracy of Dr Boehtlingk's investigations. For, in the first instance, he does not start from the Kathā sarit sāgara in order to arrive at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived fifty years after Pānini, on the contrary, he makes, as we have seen, both grammarians contemporaries, judging, no doubt, that two men who enjoyed a very substantial fight cannot have lived at different times, even in a story book. Then he adverts likewise (p 243) to the little mistake of Dr Boehtlingk concerning Abhimanyu's date, in short, he denies the validity of all the arguments alleged by Dr Boehtlingk, save those which are founded on the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. When therefore he, nevertheless, says (p 301) that the researches of Professor Boehtlingk "with regard to the age of Pānini deserve the highest credit," I am at a loss to understand this handsome

94 "Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II p 413

compliment, even though it strengthen his assurance (p 310) "that Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology" 93

95 In reply to this compliment, Dr Boehtlingk makes the following bow. "Alles was zur Entscheidung dieser Frage beitragen konnte, finden wir auf das sorgfältigste zusammengestellt und erwogen in einem so eben erschienenen Werke von Max Müller, einem Werke, in welchem überraschende Belesenheit, Scharfsinn und geistreiche Behandlung des Stoffes den Leser in beständiger Spannung erhalten," i e., "All that can contribute to the solution of this question—(viz., that of the introduction of writing into India) we find put together and examined in the most careful manner, in a work by Max Müller, just published, a work in which surprising acquaintance with the literature, acuteness and ingenious treatment of the subject-matter, never suffer the reader's attention to flag." The testimonial he thus gratuitously gives to his own knowledge of "all that can contribute to the solution of that question," reached me too late to be noticed in the previous pages, as they were already in the press, it is contained in a paper of his, having the title "Ein Paar Worte zur Frage über das Alter der Schrift in Indien." These "few words" do not contain, indeed, a particle of fact bearing on the question, but much *reasoning*, of which the following concluding passage is the summary: "Nach meinem Dafürhalten also wurde die Schrift zur Verbreitung der Literatur in den älteren Zeiten nicht verwandt, wohl aber wurde sie zum Schaffen neuer Werke zu Hülfe genommen. Der Verfasser schrieb sein Werk nieder, lernte es aber dann auswendig oder liess es durch Andere memoriren. Niedergeschriebene Werke wurden in der älteren Zeit wohl selten von Neuem abgeschrieben, mögen aber im Original in der Familie als Heiligthümer aufbewahrt und geheim gehalten worden sein. Möglicher Weisa vernichtete aber auch der Autor sein Schriftwerk, sobald er dasselbe memorirt hatte, um nicht durch sein Beispiel Andere zu verleiten, um sich nicht des Vorwurfes einer Verrätherie an der Priesterkaste schuldig zu machen, vielleicht auch um nicht als gewöhnlicher Autor, dem das Werk allmählich unter den Händen entsteht, zu erscheinen, sondern als ein inspirirter Seher, der, ohne alle Mühe und Anstrengung von seiner Seite beim Schaffen, ein Werk in abgeschlossener Gestalt im Geiste erschaut und als ein

That Sanskrit philology should not yet possess the means of ascertaining the date of Pāṇini's life, is, no doubt, a serious impediment to any research concerning the chronology of ancient Hindu works. For Pāṇini's Grammar is the centre of a vast and important branch of the ancient literature. No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development of

solcher von den Gottern Bevorzugter weiter verkündet, *sc.* "in my opinion, therefore, writing was not used in the olden times for the propagation of literature, but was resorted to for the production of new works. The author wrote down his work, but then learnt it by heart, or made others commit it to memory. Probably, works once written down, were not copied anew in the olden time, with rare exceptions, but the original manuscripts were perhaps preserved as sacred relics in the family, and kept secret. But it is possible, too, that the author destroyed his written work, after he had committed it to memory, in order not to seduce others by his example, nor to make himself guilty of the reproach of treason towards the caste of priests, perhaps, too, not to appear as an ordinary author, whose work grew gradually under his hands, but an inspired seer who, without any labour and exertion in producing, had seen in his mind a work in a finished form, and, as a person thus favoured by the gods, had proclaimed it abroad."—This reasoning will not surprise us in the author of a "commentary on Pāṇini" (compare note 48 etc.). Yet I must ask, whence he derived his information that it was treason towards the *Brāhmana* caste to write or to produce a manuscript? or whence he has learnt that an author could, in olden times, pass himself off as an inspired seer who was favoured by the gods, without, of course, being chastised by his countrymen, as an impostor? *Manu* XI. 55, treats false boasting—अनृतं समुत्तपे— as a crime equal to that of killing a *Brāhmana*, and *Tājñavalkya*, III. 229, places it on the same level with the drinking of spirituous liquors, which crime is expiated only after the sinner has drunk either boiling spirits, or boiling butter, cow's urine, or milk, until he dies (III. 253). Veracity, moreover, is known to be one of the principal features of the character of the ancient Hindus, as, in the epic legends, a word spoken, or a promise made, is always deemed irrevocable and binding. It is notorious that the Hindu authorities did not look upon any one as an inspired seer, except the author of a Mantra, and, probably, at a more recent

India It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vaidika commentaries It is appealed to by every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty Besides the inspired seers of the works which are the root of Hindu belief, Pāṇini is the only one among those authors of scientific works who may be looked upon as real personages, who is a Rshi in the proper sense of the word,—an author supposed to have had the foundation of his work revealed to him by a divinity ⁹⁶

period, of a Brāhmana The Kalpa works were never considered to be anything but human productions, and I know only of one instance, viz, that of Pāṇini, where the author of a scientific work was supposed to have received it from a divinity —In other words, to the mind of Dr Boehtlingk the whole of the ancient scientific literature of India presents a picture of a gigantic swindle and imbecility, on the one side are the charlatans who write works, learn them by heart, and burn the manuscripts, in order to appear in direct communication with a divinity, on the other, is the idiotic nation which believes that the learned quacks are inspired seers favoured by the gods! It is not a little characteristic, but at the same time very intelligible, that this should be the view of the "editor" of Pāṇini

96 Patañjali frequently, therefore, makes use of the expression, "Pāṇini *sees*," when an ordinary author is quoted by him as "saying" or the like; e g, p 145 (in Dr Ballantyne's edition) पश्यति स्वाचार्यो नाकारस्वत्वानो ह्येषो भवतीति, or p 246, पश्यति स्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, p 281, पश्यति स्वाचार्यो न सिष्यन्तश्च भवन्ति, p 615, पश्यति स्वाचार्यं स्थानिद्वन्द्वेति भवन्ति, p 787, पश्यति स्वाचार्यस्तदेकदेशभूत तद्वद्गुणेन गृह्यत इति etc; but p 658, पश्यति स्वाचार्यं (viz. Kātyāyana, in his Vārtikas to VI 4, 104) ! चित्तो मुक्ति नम्रगणनयैक्य सदान्स्वाग्रहवत्त्वान्नोपस्य चासिद्धत्वादि etc —For the same reason, when Kātyāyana, for instance, speaks of "the author of the Sūtras," viz Pāṇini, Nāgajibhatṭa explains this expression with "Śiva," who revealed to Pāṇini the first fourteen Sūtras; e g p 86, सूत्रारो महेश्वर, वेत्तुगुणो वा, or when Kātyāyana calls Pāṇini, Āchārya, Nāgajibhatṭa says (p 120) शिवो वेत्तुगुणो वाचाचार्य, or p 197, वाचाय शिव Of the first fourteen, or the Śivasūtras, Nāgajibhatṭa says that they existed from eternity, while Pāṇini made the rest (p 763 ed Ballantyne) स्वामनादित्वादेशा वाग्निङित्वात् etc

Yet, however we may regret the necessity of leaving this important personage in the chaos which envelopes the historical existence of all ancient Hindu celebrities, it is better to acknowledge this necessity than attach faith to a date devoid of real substance and resting on no trustworthy testimony. For, in doing so, we may feel induced to direct our efforts towards an investigation more likely to lead to a solid result,—I mean the investigation of the *internal evidence* afforded by the ancient literature—as to the position of Pāṇini relatively to the works which are its chief representatives. If we could succeed in establishing this position, or, at least, in determining the critical means by which this end could be obtained, future research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature would have, at least, some ground to build upon, as well as a test by which to recognise the place that may be allotted to many important works within the structure raised.

In making an attempt in this direction, we feel our immediate interest naturally engaged by the question whether Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (the author of the *Vārttikas*), were in reality contemporaries or not, whatever be the age at which they lived. As a substantial record of these *Vārttikas* is met with in no other work than the “Great Commentary” of Patañjali, it will first be necessary for us to examine the literature embodied or alluded to, in the *Mahābhāshya*, so far as it bears on this inquiry, in order to ascertain what portion of this literature is anterior to Kātyāyana, and what portion belongs to his own authorship. We may consult for this purpose, Kaiyyata, the principal commentator on Patañjali, but we need not descend to the recent period of the, *Kāśikā*, the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, the commentaries of Nāgeśa, Purushottama, or other *Vrttis* and *Tīkās*, for all these works are at too great a distance from the period of Patañjali to assist us in the solution of our problem.

Of the grammatical writers named by the author of the *Mahābhāshya*, we pass over those which are quoted by Pāṇini himself, as by his testimony we are enabled at once to assign

to them an existence prior to his Grammar⁹⁷ We may pass over, too, those authorities to whom Patañjali adverts when he speaks of a "Sūtra of the former" grammarians,⁹⁸ for such an expression on his part invariably refers to Pāṇini's Sūtras, and the substance of the opinions or rules of these "former" grammarians must equally, therefore, have preceded Pāṇini's work, and, consequently the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

The first category of writings deserving our notice here will therefore be those Vārtikas and grammatical dicta which are quoted by Patañjali in relation to Kātyāyana's own Vārtikas. As authors of such writings we meet, for instance, with the grammarians of the school of the *Bhāradvāḥyas* and *Saunāgas* with *Kumaravādava Vādava*, who is perhaps the same as this grammarian, with *Saurabhagavat* with *Kum* who is spoken of by Kaiyyata as a predecessor of Patañjali, and an indefinite number of grammarians who are introduced to us under the general designation of "some" or "others"⁹⁹ Whether the

97 These authors are Āpīsali, Kāsyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chākra-varmana, Bhāradvāja, Śikāṣyana, Śākalya, Senaka, Spṛōṣyana, and those designated by the collective appellation of eastern and northern grammarians. These names have been correctly mentioned by Dr Boehtlingk, vol. II p. 111—v.

98 Kaiyyata calls them पूर्वार्वा or the "former teachers," e.g. in his comment on the third Śivasūtra on I 1 4, V 2, 39, VI 1, 6, etc. The word पूर्वार्वा which in the sense given is a Tatpurusha, the former part of which is to be understood in the sense of a genitive, occurs e.g. in the Bhāṣya to VII 1 18, compare also note 46.—And the authorities quoted by Patañjali, under the name of आचार्या, are probably also meant as "older grammarians," e.g. in his gloss on the fifth Śivasūtra, on I 1, 1 and 2, 18, etc.

99 The *Bhāradvāḥyas* are quoted several times in the Bhāṣya, and in the Calc. ed. four times, viz. III 1, 89, v 1, IV 1, 79, v 1, VI 4, 47, v 1, and 155, v 1.—The *Saunāgas* are mentioned there III 2, 18, v 1—4, VI 3, 44, v 1, and VII 2, 17, the latter quotation, however, does not occur in the Bhāṣya.—*Kumaravādava* is mentioned in the Bhāṣya to VII 3, 1, v 6, *Vādava* and *Saurabhagavat* to VIII 2, 106 v 3, *Kum* in Kaiyyata's gloss on I 1, 75, where he says that Patañjali follows,

latter term comprise the grammarians just named, or other authorities, we cannot infer from the words of Patañjali, probably, however, we are justified in deciding for the latter alternative, since Patañjali is a writer who chooses his words deliberately, and would scarcely have quoted his authority at one time by name, and at another by a general term which does not imply that great respect entertained for a high authority. But, whatever view we take of the matter,—setting aside those grammarians quoted by Patañjali, who will require some additional remark before we can establish their relation to Kātyāyana—we may see that all that are named must have lived before Patañjali, and after Kātyāyana since all their Vārttikas or remarks, recorded by Patañjali are criticisms on, and emendations of, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana¹⁰⁰ Of

In the words referred to the opinion of Kuma (Kaṣṣya ta कृष्णिना प्राग्ग्रहं माचार्यनिर्देशान्मे । माध्यमास्तु कणिकानामशिशिनत्) Some of these quotations are given by Dr Boehtlingk, vol II pp iv li The phrase “अपर आह” is of frequent occurrence in the Bhāṣya, e g to the second Sivasūtra to I 1, 10, 2, 50 51, II 2, 24, 3, 66, III 1, 27 112 123, 2, 109 123 etc or कश्चिद्व्याकरण आह e g II 4, 56, अन्ये व्याकरणा e g I 1, 27, केचित् e g, VIII 2, 80 (केचित् णके), अपरे e g I 1, 1 and 2, III, 2, 123, and four sets of grammarians are contrasted by Patañjali in his comment on III 2, 115 कथमानादक पुन परोक्ष नाम । केचित्ता वदाहु । वर्षस्तवृत्त परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु । वर्षस्तस्मिन् वृत्त परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु । वृत्तकदान्तरित परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु इह वृत्त नववृत्त वेति ।

100 A few instances will bear out this conclusion. Kātyāyana's third Vārttika to II 2, 18 runs thus सिद्ध तु काङ्क्षन्तिदुर्गतिवचनात्, and his fourth प्रादय क्त्वे (omitted in the Calc ed) After having explained both, Patañjali adds एतदेव च सौनामैर्विस्तररत्नेण पठितम् and quotes the four Vārttikas of the Saunāsas as given in the Calc edition, Kaṣṣyata is even more explicit on this occasion, for he says एतदेवेति । कात्यायनाभिप्रायमेव प्रदर्शयितु सौनामैर्विस्तररेण पठितमित्यर्थ —The Vārttika of Kātyāyana to I 1, 20 reads पुसत्राया प्रवृत्तिरङ्ग शिदयम्, but, says Patañjali, the Bhāradvājiyas read it otherwise मारदाजीया पठन्ति । पुसत्राया प्रवृत्तिरङ्ग शिदयम्, which last compound contains an important improvement on the rule of Kātyāyana —The latter enlarges Pāṇini's

Patañjali's *Ishtis* or "desiderata," which are his own additions

rule III 1, 89, by this Vārtika यक्चिन्ने प्रतिषेधे हेतुमणिवृत्तिनूनामुपसन्ना नम्, but, says Patañjali after his explanation of it, भाट्टाचार्या पठन्ति । यक्चिन्ने प्रतिषेधे गित्त्रन्निग्रथिन्नूनामात्मनेपदान्मन्त्राणामुपसन्नानम् which version of the Bhāradvāṣṭyīyas is a distinct criticism on Kātyāyana—His two Vārtikas on VI 4, 155 are the following णाविष्ट्वन्नादिपदिकस्य and पुबङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिपरावम्, but the Bhāradvāṣṭyīyas improved them in this way (Patañjali भारद्वाजाया पठन्ति ।) णाविष्ट्वन्नादिपदिकस्य पुबङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिपरावदिविभक्तोर्लुक्चिन्निवर्धम् । The same Bhāradvāṣṭyīyas, have criticised Pāṇini also, independently of Kātyāyana, for Patañjali, mentions at the Sūtra VI 4, 47 भ्रष्टोरोपपद्यो रमन्मन्त्रस्याम्, their Vārtika भ्रष्टोरोपपद्योर्लोप आगमो रन्निधीयते । The mere comparison of their Vārtikas and the passages quoted, will clearly show that these grammarians not only lived after Pāṇini, but also after Kātyāyana, and that they were engaged on the same task which was the object of Kātyāyana, viz., that of criticising Pāṇini. Dr Bochtlingk, however, (vol II p iv)—when speaking of the Vārtikas of the Bhāradvāṣṭyīyas and one Vārtika of the Āpīśālas, which improves Pāṇini Sūtra VII 3, 95, तुम्स्तुशम्यम् सार्वधातुके in this manner तुम्स्तुशम्यम् सार्वधातुके छन्दसि (quoted by the Kāśikā not by Patañjali)—draws from them the twofold conclusion, "first, that the grammatical terminology of both predecessors of our grammarian (Pāṇini) was the same, partly at least (dass die grammatische Terminologie bei den beiden Vorgängern unseres Grammatikers, zum Theil übereinstimm, daselbe gewesen ist), and then, that their original works, in time, received similar emendations and additions as the grammar of Pāṇini." I know not by what logical process either of these conclusions could be extracted from these Vārtikas. The passages quoted are obvious criticisms on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana,—and so are the other Vārtikas of the Bhāradvāṣṭyīyas named by Patañjali. There is not the slightest evidence afforded by these Vārtikas that they are in any connection whatever with works of Bhāradvāja and Āpīśāli, and any reasoning concerning the latter becomes therefore without foundation. Or do we find that in India all pupils and descendants are compelled to confine their writings or remarks to the works of their teachers and ancestors and will their criticisms on these latter works turn out, by some marvellous process, to fit exactly the productions of other authors also?

to Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, I need not speak, since they are an essential portion of his own Great Commentary ¹⁰¹

10¹ It will probably be thought desirable that an editor should at least understand the title-page of the work which he is committing to the press, even when editing is merely tantamount to reprinting the labours of others, faults and all, but I fear that this much cannot be said of Dr Boehtlingk's *edition* of Pāṇini for, in translating the title-page of the Calcutta edition he renders इति "k-rikā" and justifies this version in the following note (vol III p xxxvii) "I take परिभाषेति as a *dvandva* and इति as synonymous with *kārikā*, because I should not like to miss these (the *kārikās*) on the title." Thus, because the Calcutta Pandits, rightly or wrongly, did not say on the title-page of their edition that their compilation will comprise the *Kārikās*, but merely stated that it will give *Vārttikas*, *Gaṇas*, *Paribhāṣās* and *Ishtas*, Dr Boehtlingk reasons that "since he does not like the omission of the *kārikās*, *Ishta* is the same as *kārikā*." There is, indeed, nothing strange in this reasoning of Dr Boehtlingk, we have seen already some specimens of it, and if any one would take upon himself the ungrateful task of reviewing the second volume which he has annexed to his "*edition*" of Pāṇini, he would have to add a good many more of the same quality. But if Dr Boehtlingk had chosen to consult, by letter or otherwise, the editors of his edition of Pāṇini, they would in all probability have told him that *ishta* means a "desideratum" and that *ishtas* emphatically so called, and not qualified otherwise (as *Ishtas* of the *Kārikās*, etc.), designate the *Vārttikas* of Patañjali. They might, too, have referred him to the *Paṭaṇḍrikā*, which in the introduction plainly says इदयो भाष्यकारस्य, or to Nāgajñāna, who when referring to the word इति applied by Kātyāyana to the *Vārttika* (of Patañjali III I 1, 1, omitted in the edition) छन्दोऽन्तर्भागे नानि comments इतिरिति । तथा च भाष्यकारीयातिदेशात्सूत्रेषु च्छन्दः स्वरूपवृत्तिर्गतिमात्र । But, for aught I know, they might have simply requested him to read their own edition, before, sending it to the printer, since they have themselves written the word भाष्यकारेति, for instance, after a *Vārttika* to I 1, 9, or भाष्येति after a *Vārttika* to I 1, 68, or the words इतिभाष्येति after a *Vārttika* to II 2, 28, and it is clear enough that in none of these instances can इति be synonymous with वारिका

Another category of literary compositions, which are either entirely or partly embodied in the Mahābhāṣya, are the *Kārikās* ¹⁰² To assign these verses to one author, would be as erroneous as to speak of one author of the *Vārttikas* ¹⁰³ For, even the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini enables us to see, at

102 It is almost superfluous to state that I merely speak of the *Kārikās* which are recorded by Patañjali. Those belonging to Bhartṛhari, who wrote a gloss on Patañjali (comp e g *Govaratanamahodadhī* बर्तृहरि वाक्यपदीयरता महाभाष्यव्याख्याना च, and my subsequent observations on the *Pātyapadya*), as well as the *Kārikās* met with exclusively in the *Kārikā* or *Siddhānta kaumudī*, can have no bearing on the present investigation.

103 These assertions have nevertheless been made by Dr Eoht lingk, vol II p xiv, where he states that 'between Pāṇini and Amara-siṃha there are still four grammarians. Kātyāyana, the author of the *Paribhāṣhā*, the author of the *Kārikās*, and Patañjali,' and p xviii xix, where he states that each couple of these grammarians may be separated from one another by a space of fifty years, he repeats, "as we have observed above (p xiv), there are between Patañjali and Pāṇini still three grammarians known to us, who made contributions to the grammar of Pāṇini." On page xlix, it is true, he says, "no doubt the *Kārikās* do not all belong to the same author, since the same subject is treated sometimes in two different *Kārikās* in a perfectly different manner,' but as he observed before that the *Kārikās* are "scattered in various grammars (*sic*), viz in the Mahābhāṣya, the *Kārikā*, the *Padamañjarī*, and the *Kaumudī*, and as two quotations which he adds in corroboration of his statement, viz VI 3, 109, and VII 2, 10, have reference to the *Kārikā* and *Siddhānta kaumudī* only, we should be in fairness bound to conclude that, in his opinion, it was the literary period after Patañjali which produced this variety of authors of the *Kārikās*. Yet when he presents us with a third quotation, viz "Calced p 274," which clearly points to the fact that there were different authors of *Kārikās* 'at or before Patañjali's time, it would be curious to learn how he reconciles this latter quotation with his previous statements at pages xiv and xix, according to which there is but one author of the *Kārikās* between Pāṇini and Patañjali, and a personage, too, who lived 60 years after the author of the *Paribhāṣhā* and 60 years before Patañjali! Compare also the following note

first sight, in four instances, that they cannot be the work of the same author, and, besides these, two other instances of the same kind may be found in the "Great Commentary" ¹⁰⁴. But, to define the relation of these verses to Kātyāyana, it will not be sufficient simply to state that some of them embody the rules of Kātyāyana, while others deviate from them, and others again enlarge and criticise the Vārttikas ¹⁰⁵ it will be necessary to describe the characteristic features of these Kārikās such as we find them in Patañjali's work

An external, but very important, mark is afforded by the circumstance that one portion of the Kārikās is left by Patañ-

104 The Kārikās not met with in the Bhāṣya are, usually, correctly marked in the Calcutta edition with the name of the work whence they have been taken, those not marked, are therefore, nearly always, recognisable in this edition as belonging to the Mahābhāṣya. That such Kārikās of the latter kind, to the same Sūtra of Pīṇi, belong to different authors, is indicated in the Calc. ed. at I 4, 51 III 2, 123 (p. 274) IV 1, 44 and 63. From the Bhāṣya we learn it *at first sight*, besides, in the two instances, I 2, 50,—where the words गोण्या इवम् etc. are preceded by अपर आह—and VII 2, 58, where the latter words precede the Kārikā वेत्तेत्यु etc. Compare the notes 107 108, 111

105 Three striking instances of the latter kind are the Kārikās to IV 2, 60, VIII 1, 69, and III 2, 118. The first occurs at the end of Patañjali's commentary on the Vārttikas of this Sūtra, = without comment, and contains, for the greater part, new matter, which is given in the shape of Vārttikas in the Siddhānta kaumudī. It is omitted in the Calc. ed. and runs thus

अनुसूक्ष्मदक्षणे मर्मसादेद्वयोश्च ॥ इकन्यदोत्तरपदाच्छ्रवणे विकल्पः ॥

The Kārikā to VIII 1, 69 embodies the Vārttikas 1, 2, 3 to the same Sūtra and Vārttika 2 to VIII 1, 67, but in the latter Kātyāyana says मलोपवचन च and the Kārikā enlarges this rule to मकारलोपोऽतिष्ठि (Nāgajibhatta मलोपवेति वर्तनकोत्तो मलोपमिच्छन्ने नेष्ट) The Kārikā to III 2, 118 = thus introduced by Patañjali इति चानस्मादि । न स्म पुरावचन इति (second Vārttika) भुवना वात्यायनेने स्मादि^{१०६}, and by Kaṣyaṣa एकतरस्मिन्वाचित्ते स्मपुरावचनात्तुच्छगत्वेनाभ्यधीयी । तत्र पूर्वस्मिन्परस्मिन्वा विशेषमपश्यन्नुच्छति । इतरो वाचित्प्रत्ययानां मया विवक्षितमेतदित्याह । स्मादि^{१०७}

jali entirely without comment, while he comments on another portion in the same manner as he does on the Vārttikas, and we may add, too, that there are a few Vārttikas which are not altogether without a gloss, but the gloss on which is so scanty and so different from the kind of comment bestowed on the Vārttikas, that they might seem to constitute a third category of Kārikās¹⁰⁶

If we first examine the Kārikās without comment we meet twice with the remark of Patañjali that *another*, or "others," have composed the verse in question, when the Kārikā is contrasted by him with the preceding Vārttika and the same remark occurs four times, when the Kārikā thus introduced to our notice is contrasted with a preceding Kārikā¹⁰⁷ More

106 Without any comment of Patañjali we find the Kārikās to I 1, 0 14 20 38 70, 2, 64 4, 51 (Kār 3-7) — II 1, 10 60, 4, 36 85 — III 1, 7 (=V 2, 94 Kār 1) 22 27 79 122 127, 2, 3 123 (Kār 1, 2 4 5 6), 3, 1 (Kār 3) 156 (=VII 4, 41), 4, 79 — IV 1, 44 63 161, 2, 9 60 (comp the preceding note), 4, 9 — V 1, 115, 2, 48, 3, 55 — VI 1, 1 77 (Kār 2), 87, 2, 199, 4, 46 (Kār 2) 92 — VIII 1, 70, 2 58 (Kār 3) 4, 114 — VII 1, 18 73 (Kār 2) 59 62 80 108, 3, 43 — There are Kārikās commented upon by Patañjali, in his usual manner, to I 1, 19 57, 2, 9 17 18 80 51, 4, 21 (=III 3, 161) 51 (Kār 1 2 1-4) — III 1, 112, 2, 57 109 115 139, 3 1 (Kār 1 2) — IV 1, 3 10 18 32 81 78 92 93 120 165, 2, 8 45, 3, 60 134 — V 1, 19, 2, 39 45 94 (Kār 2) 3, 88 — VI 1, 77 (Kār 1) 103 158, 2, 1, 3, 4, 4, 3 12 22 46 62 74 128 — VII, 1, 9 21 40 73 (Kār 1) 96, 2, 102 107, 3, 3 86, 4, 46 (Kār 1) — VIII 1, 69 (comp the preceding note), 2, 25 55 58 (Kār 1 2), 3, 88, 4, 88 — To the third category belong the Kārikās to I 1, 38 (om Calc ed) — III 1, 123 2, 118 123 (Kār 3) — IV 2, 13 — VI 4, 120 149 — VIII 2, 45 — Other Kārikās quoted in the Calcutta edition do not occur in the Eṣṣhya

107 Patañjali to III 1, 27 अपर आह । धनुः* (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika), III 2, 123, Kār 1 अपर आह । नास्ति वनमान काल इति । अपि चात्र शेषानुदाहरन्ति । न वर्तने* मोऽप्यनप इति (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika), etc., but the last Kārikā, which

definite statements, I believe, are not volunteered by Patañjali, but Kaiyyata once tells us, that such an uncommented Kārikā was composed by the *Śloka-vārttika-kāra*, or the "author of the versified Vārttikas," and though this information is not more distinct or more satisfactory than that of Patañjali, it has, at least, the merit of having on another occasion elicited the remark of Nāgoji, that this author is *not* Kātyāyana ¹⁰⁸

Being here merely concerned with the question of the relation of these Kārikās to Kātyāyana, we should not feel under the necessity of examining the contents of the six verses just mentioned, even if they differed in character from the rest—which is not the case,—for the statements alleged enable us, as it is, to conclude that they are *later* than his Vārttikas. Still, as the remaining portion of these uncommented Kārikās does not admit of a similar inference without an inquiry into the evidence which they yield, it will be necessary to observe that they fall into two distinct divisions

One class of them merely records the substance of the preceding Vārttikas. These, for the most part, stand at the end of Patañjali's commentary on the Sūtra to which they belong, but some of them are also met with in the midst of the discussion of the Bhāṣya, but when they comprise the contents of a portion, not of the whole, of the Vārttikas to the Sūtra of Pāṇini ¹⁰⁹ The second class has not the character

is introduced by the words अपर आह । अस्ति वतमान काल इति । आदित्यगणिकोपलभ्यते । अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । विमस्य", is contrasted with the preceding Kārikās at IV I 44, after गुण he says, अपर आह । उपैत्य etc., at IV 1, 63, after "चणो नह, he adds, पर आह । प्रादुर्भाव", at VIII 2, 58, after "भवे, his words are, अपर आह । भवेत्तेषु etc

108 Patañjali on IV 4, 9 अत्र किं न्यायम् । परिगणन कृतव्यम् । आकर्षादपदि etc — Kaiyyata उच्यते वाचिना मन्त्रिगणमन्त्रिभ्यश्च भ्रान्ति निरासाम पर्यवर्तयन् — Kaiyyata on the Kārikās to VI 4, 22 वाचिन दारोनेषु प्रयोजनेषु प्राच्यानेषु "लोकात्किञ्चनारोक्तप्रयोजनापक्षेप — Nagojibhatta वाचिन्कार कायान । इत्येकवाचिककारस्त्वन्य एवेति भाव See also page 107

109 Such uncommented Kārikās standing at the end of the commentary occur at the Sūtras II 1 10, 4 85 (Kār 2 3) — III 1, 79, 2, 3 — V 2, 48, 3, 55 (Kār 3-5) — VI 1, 77 (Kār 2), — 87 — VII 1,

of summaries of the Vārttikas. It is an *essential part of the discussion of the Bhāṣya itself*, now introducing the point at

73 (Kār 2)—VIII 2, 62 108, 3, 43—*In the middle* of the discussion they occur in the Sūtras II 1, 60, before the fourth Vārttika, and summing up the Vārttikas 1, 2, 3, II 4, 85 (Kār 1, being a summary of the Vārttikas preceding the third Vārttika in the Cale ed) —The summary character of these Kārikās is sometimes expressly adverted to by the commentators. Thus at II 1 60, Kaiyaṣa observes अवधारण नना चेदिति पूर्व एवार्थ आर्यया सङ्गृहीत II 4, 85 (Kār 1), एव एवा (of what precedes) आर्यया वक्षित, II 4, 85 (Kār 2 3), पूर्वोक्त एवार्थ इत्येकेन सङ्गृहात, III 2, 3, उक्तार्थमङ्गुहाय इत्येका । नित्य प्रमाणमिति V 2 48, प्रकृत्यर्थमिति पूर्वोक्तार्थमङ्गुहाय इत्येका etc etc. I may here observe that the word इति, which is usually added by authors after quotations they make from other authors, is scarcely ever met with after the last word of these or any other Kārikās. There is the following instance which clearly proves that no inference can be drawn from the presence or absence of this word इति after the Kārikās, viz the Kārikā to III 1, 7 is identical with the first Kārikā to V 2, 94, इति occurs after the former, not after the latter. Only one of the Kārikās introduced by अपर आहु — a clear instance of a quotation—is followed by this word, viz III 2, 123 (Kār 1) none of the uncommented Kārikās except the one mentioned (III, 1, 7) has this word after it and among the Kārikās with comment, it occurs only at III 2, 129. It is not necessary on the present occasion, to make any further statement concerning the use of इति in Patañjali's commentary, but compare also note 130 — The Calcutta editors, who, unfortunately, have considered themselves justified in giving us "Extracts" from the Vārttikas of Āstyaśyana, do not enable their readers fully to recognise the summary character of these Kārikās, and, in placing the Kārikās either at the end or at the beginning, they have, in this class of the Kārikās, and still more so in the following classes, entirely destroyed all possibility of perceiving how these Kārikās are sometimes summaries of a portion only of Vārttikas, sometimes the summary of Patañjali's discussion, and sometimes an essential portion of his arguments. When, in the MSS of the Bhāṣya, to judge from the one at my command, a Kārikā which occurs in the middle of the discussion, is sometimes—not always—repeated at the end, such a device on the part of Patañjali, or, as it seems more pro-

issue with some general remark, then connecting or strengthening the links of the debate by an important definition or a new argument, then again summing up the substance of the discussion itself, and throwing, as it were some additional light on it ¹¹⁰

bable on the part of the copyists, is intelligible, and deserves approval as it is calculated to draw our attention to the occurrence, in the middle of the discussion, of such a verse, which usually contains important information. But when such a verse is always taken from its original and proper place, and always put either at the beginning or at the end, for no other reason than that it is a verse, such a method, in a book, moreover, of that equivocal class which gives dribbled extracts of an important literature, makes the same impression on my mind, at all events, as if an editor of a garbled Shakspeare were to present us first with all the prosaic and then with all the poetical parts of the play, or *vice versa*.

110 Uncommented verses of this kind are met with in the Bhāṣya III or near the beginning of the discussion on IV 1, 44 (बोने गुण^० । गुणं वचनादित्युच्यते । बो गुणो नाम । मरवे निवेशने etc when he contrasts the following Kārikā अपर आह—उपैत्व^०—with the preceding words), IV 1, 63 (जातेरखा^० । जातेरित्युच्यते का जातिर्नाम । आकृतिग्रहण^{००}, which words are contrasted with the Kārikā of “another ” अपर आह । प्रायुर्भाव^०) IV 1, 161 (मनोर्नास्तत्त्व^० । अपत्ये कुत्सिते etc), V 1, 116 (तेन तुल्यम्^० । इदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमत्रायुक्तम् । वचतृतीयासमर्थं क्रिया चेत्सा भवतीत्युच्यते । कथं च तृतीयासमर्थं नाम क्रिया स्वाद्य । नैनदयुक्तं वर्तते । सर्व एव ते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियो वैश्य शूद्र इति । त्वं क्षुत्^{००}), VI 2, 199 (परादिदृच्छन्दमि श्रुत्^० । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते । परादिश्च परान्तश्च^{००}), VII 4 46, Kār 2, (रौ द^० । अवदत्तं विदत्तश्च etc)—The foregoing quotations, which begin with the Sūtra itself, will show the introductory character of these Kārikās—In the middle of the discussion of the Bhāṣya we find such Kārikās at I 1, 0 (ed Ballantyne, p 201, 202, towards the end of the Introduction), I 1, 20 (preceding the fourth Vārttika of the Calc ed) I 1 38 (the first Kārikā of the Calc ed it stands after the Vārttikas of this ed, and is followed by a Kārikā of the third category—see note 106,—which is omitted in the Calc ed), I 2, 64 (preceding the eighteenth Vārttika of the ed), III 1, 22 (after the Vārttika of the ed, but before other Vārttikas omitted there), V 3

A comparison of these two classes of *uncommented* Kārikās shows, therefore, that while the former might have been omitted in the *Great Commentary*, without any detriment to the contents of this work, the latter was indispensable to it. We may look upon the summary Kārikās as memorial verses, adapted for forming a separate collection for the convenience of teachers and pupils, but the independent existence of the commentatorial Kārikās is quite unintelligible, and would be altogether purposeless. In short, though there might be a doubt whether Patañjali, or some other grammarian, poetically inclined, had versified the Vārttikas, it seems impossible to assume that the second class of those Kārikās was composed by any one but Patañjali. It is very probable, however, that the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* was not the author of the summary or memorial Kārikās. For since there was an "author of versified Kārikās," as we learn from *Kaīyyata* and *Nāgojibhatta*, and as we shall see that a considerable number of the commented Kārikās do not belong to his authorship, the literary activity of this personage would become restricted to, and his fame would have been founded on, less than half-a-dozen lines, if we did not ascribe to him more Kārikās than those expressly attributed

(-55 (Kār 1, 2, preceding the ninth Vārttika of the Calc ed., Patañjali speaks in the first person), VI 4, 114 (before the third Vārttika of the ed), VIII 2, 80 (before the second Vārttika of the ed)—Uncommented Kārikās occur at the end of the discussion of the *Bhāṣya* at I 1, 14, 28 (the last Kārikā of the ed the Calc editors add that this Kārikā is originally a Vaidika passage referring to ॐ Kaīyyata and Nāgojibhatta have no remark to this effect, but even if the editors be right they ought to have proved first that the "Vaidika" passage in question—a very vague definition—is older than Patañjali's *Bhāṣya*, and not taken from it), on I 1, 70, 4, 51 (Kār 5-7), II 4, 36, III 1, 7 (which occurs once more in the middle of the discussion on V 2, 94 as Kār 1), III 1, 122 127, 3 1 Kār 3 (see note 113) 156 (=VII 4 41), 4, 79, IV 2, 9, 60 (omitted in the Calc ed., see note 105, अनुसृत), V 3, 55 (Kār. 3-5), VI 1, 1, VII 1, 18, 4, 92 (where Patañjali speaks in the first person), VIII 1, 70, 2, 28

to him by these commentators, or if we fathered these summary Kārikās on Patañjali : Whether the "other" mentioned in the first six instances be the same, or not, as the "author of the versified Kārikās," I have no means of deciding, but, at all events, it becomes certain, after this brief explanation, that *all the uncommented Kārikās are later than the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana*

The Kārikās *commented upon* by Patañjali are in one respect similar to the foregoing class, but in another wholly different from it. As regards an external mark, we again meet here with "another," who has twice composed a Kārikā which is contrasted by Patañjali with a preceding Vārttika, and twice ■ Kārikā which he contrasts with a preceding Kārikā, the authorship of which is left without a remark¹¹¹. Another such Kārikā, too, is distinctly ascribed by Kaiyyata to the "author of the versified Kārikās"¹¹². And when we examine the contents of this second class of Kārikās, we again find many which form an essential part of the arguments in the discussion of Patañjali¹¹³. Here, however, the analogy stops, for the remainder have in no way the nature of summaries, they are to

111 III 1, 112, Patañjali says, अपर आह । सहाया पुति etc, when he contrasts the Kārikā with the preceding Vārttika, III 2, 102, अपर आह । नोपेयिवान् etc contrasted with preceding Vārttikas omitted in the Calc ed, I 2, 50 (Kār 2), अपर आह । गोप्या इत्थन् etc contrasted with the preceding Kārikā I 4, 51, अपर आह । प्रधानकर्मण्याख्येये etc (commented on up to कवयो विदुः Kār 1-4) contrasted with the preceding Kārikā

112 VI 4 22 Compare note 108

113 Such Kārikās are met with at or near the beginning of the Bhāṣya on I 4, 51 (the two first Kār of the Calc ed), III 3 1 (Kār 1 2, the last Kārikā is left without comment), IV 1, 3 54 78 (the first four Kārikās stand at the beginning, before the first Vārttika, the following nine after the second Vārttika of the Calcutta edition, which, in the Bhāṣya, however, is the fourth), 92 165, V 2, 45, VI 1, 103. In the middle of the discussion on I 1, 57, IV 1, 93, V 1, 19, 2, 94, Kār 2 (before the seventh Vārttika of the Calc ed), VII 4, 46 (Kār 1)

all intents and purposes identical in character with the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and even Patañjali's commentary on them follows the same method that he observes in his comment on the Vārttikas 114

This method is analogous to that which has become familiar through the classical commentaries of Śāṅkara on the Upanishads, of Medhātithi and Kullūka on Manu, of Sāyana on the Vedas, of Viśvāṇeśvara on Yājñavalkya, and so on. Its character chiefly consists in establishing, usually by repetition, the correct reading of the text, in explaining every important or doubtful word, in showing the connection of the principal parts of the sentence, and in adding such observations as may be required for a better understanding of the author. Patañjali even excels, in the latter respect, the commentaries instanced, for he frequently attaches his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, often in support of the views of the latter, but not seldom, too, in order to refute his criticisms and to defend Pānini, while, again, at other times, he completes the statement of one of them by his own additional rules.

Now this method Patañjali strictly follows in his comment on the Kārikās I am alluding to. As they nearly always con-

114 Kārikās of this description occur in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the commentary on I, 1, 19, 2, 9 17 III 50 (Kār 1), III 2, 115, IV 1, 10 (the Vārttika of the Calc ed on this Sūtra is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya), 3, 60, 84 134 V 3 83, VI 1, 77 (Kār 1) 158, 2, 1 3, 46, 4, 3 46 128, VII 1, 21 40 73 (Kār 1) 96, 2, 107, 3, 3 (Kār 1) 86, VIII 1, 69 (?), 2, 25 55 80 (Kār 1 2), 3, 88, 4, 68 —In the middle, at I 2, 51, 4, 21 (= III 3, 161), III 2, 57 139, IV 1, II 32 (the second Vārttika of the Calc ed is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya on the last part of the Kārikā), 2, 8 (the second Vārttika of the Calc ed is misedited, it runs thus इहे सामनि - जानि वायुपिद्विर्वा विधीयते) 46, V 2, 39, VI 4, 12 62 74, VII 1, 9, 2, 102, 3, 3 (Kār and 3 —Towards the end, at IV 1, 120 —In several of these instances there are no other Vārttikas to the Sūtra besides the Kārikā, which is then the subject of the whole commentary, e g at IV 3, 60 84, VI 4, 46, 128, VII 1, 21, 3, 86

stitute a whole verse, and as such a verse is generally too complicated an assemblage of words to be thoroughly intelligible without being interrupted by some explanatory remark, it seldom happens that the comment of Patañjali does not begin till he has given the whole verse in its uninterrupted order. Nor is it often that so many words of the Kārikā as constitute half a verse remain together in the Bhāṣya, though it is obvious that half a verse is more likely to afford undivided matter for comment than a whole one. The rule, therefore, is, that small portions of the Kārikā, for the most part of the extent of an ordinary Vārttika, are, like so many Vārttikas, separately commented upon by Patañjali, and that in all such instances we have to gather the scattered parts of the Kārikā from amongst the commentatorial interruptions of Patañjali, in order to see that, put together, they form a verse,—a Śloka, an Indravajrā, a Dodhaka, an Āryā, or the like¹¹⁵. This

115 The text of the *whole* verse of Kārikās of this class is given before the comment of Patañjali, at I 2, 51, V 2 94 Kār 2, VI 4, 46, VIII 4, 88. There occur *half* verses of the Kārikās, without commentatorial interruptions, e.g. at I 4, 21 (= III 3, 161) 51, III 2, 57 115, IV 1, 3 10 32 93 165, 2, 8 45, V 2, 39, VI 4, 3 12 62 128, VII 1, 9 96, 2, 102 107, 3, 3 86.—Both modes are combined at VIII 3, 45 (a Kār of the *third* category) where Patañjali first comments on the text of the first Kārikā, which is given without any interruption, then on the first half of the second Kārikā, then on the second half of the second and the first half of the third Kārikā, both given together then on the second half of the third and firstly, on the first half of the fourth Kārikā. The comment on the second half of the fourth Kārikā follows first after the words सिद्धमे समाप्ते, and then after the words प्रतिषेधायस्तु यत्तोऽयम्.—The manner in which the great majority of *these* Kārikās are interrupted in the Mahābhāṣya may be guessed from a very few instances which have escaped the garbling process of the Calcutta editors, from IV 1, 120, where the four Vārttikas are the literal text of the Kārikā and from V 3, 83, where the first five Vārttikas constitute the Kārikā. The injudiciousness of giving these Kārikās on all other occasions, without indicating the manner in which they have arisen from a number of

trouble we are frequently saved, either by the author of the Great Commentary himself, or by the attentive copyists of his work, as he or they usually repeat, at the end of the gloss on the Vārttikas, the whole Kārikā in its metrical integrity. Sometimes, however, they omitted to do this, and if I may judge from the copy of the Mahābhāṣya in the possession of the

short Vārttikas, requires no remark after the foregoing explanation, but this proceeding becomes still more subject to censure, when some portions of the Kārikā are given as Vārttikas and others are omitted, or ascribed to other works than the Bhāṣya, while the Kārikā, nevertheless, is printed as belonging to the latter work. For it becomes evident that, in all such cases, there was not even a principle which guided the so called selection or quotation of the works whence the Vārttikas are taken. Thus at IV 1, 32 the Calcutta edition gives the Kārikā, but only the last portion of it as Vārttika—mistaking, moreover, the words of the commentary वा छन्दसि नुगच्छन् for the Kārikā-Vārttika, which runs thus वा छन्दसि नुगच्छेत् — A similar mis-edition of the second Vārttika to IV 2, 8, and the attributing to the Kārikā of the fifth Vārttika, make it impossible to see that the Vārttikas 2—5 form, in the Mahābhāṣya, the text of the printed Kārikā—In ascribing the third and the fifth Vārttika of V 3, 83 to the Siddhāntakaumudī, the editors obscure the origin of the Kārikā to this Sūtra, which repeats the text of the first five Vārttikas, such as they occur in the Bhāṣya—At VIII 2, 28 the same edition does not allow us to perceive more than the first stop of the first Kārikā, while it gives the three Kārikās in full—I may mention, too, that there is no such Kārikā in the Bhāṣya as that printed at VI 4, 19. It certainly was very tempting to roll up into a Śloka the words of Patañjali, तुक्प्रसज्येन, which explain the second Vārttika तुक्प्रसज्ये, together with the three other Vārttikas which belong to Kātyāyana, but there is no evidence to show that Patañjali made this verse, nor does it occur in the Kārikā or the Siddhāntakaumudī—For one Kārikā Patañjali seems, indeed, to be himself answerable, for the Vārttikas to VIII 1, 69 merely contain the material for the first fourth and the second half of the Kārikā, which occurs at the end of his Bhāṣya on this Sūtra. It is possible, however, under the circumstances, that this Kārikā may be one of the summary class. See note 105

Library of the Home Government for India, the Calcutta Pandits, who published an edition of Pāṇini, have, in some instances, supplied the apparent defect of this manuscript¹¹⁶

The foregoing remarks sufficiently express my views on these *commented Kārikās*. Where the authorship of "another," or of the *Śloka-vārttika-kāra*, is distinctly mentioned by Patañjali or Kaiyyata, I see no reason to doubt that the Kārikās to which this remark applies are neither Patañjali's nor Kātyāyana's. When the Kārikās are part of the arguments of the Bhāṣya itself, it seems certain, as in the case of the analogous Kārikās without comment, that their author is Patañjali, but when they have entirely the character of Vārttikas—which will later be defined—they are undoubtedly the composition of Kātyāyana, and such, I hold, is the view of Kaiyyata and Nāgojibhatta also. For though it is no part of their task to specify the authorship of the Kārikās, except when such a remark is essential to their gloss, they, nevertheless, have done so occasionally, and when thus we find that they plainly ascribe some of these commented Kārikās either to the author of the Vārttikas or the author of the Great Commentary, as the case may be, we must be allowed to infer that they entertained a similar opinion on other Kārikās which would fall under either

116 Dr Ballantyne's edition of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya of the Mahābhāṣya, and the MS of the E I II, which have the four Vārttikas to I 1, 57, नि य पर्यणादेशः (MS पर्यणादेशो नित्यः । comm । परक्षासी व्यवस्थया । comm । शुगपरसम्भवा नास्ति । comm । बहिरङ्गेन निष्यति । comm ।, do not repeat these words without interruptions in order to show their Kārikā nature, and the same remark applies to the MS with regard to the *commented Kārikās* I 2, 51, 4, 21 51 IV 1, 3 32 78 92 93 120 165, 2, 45, 3, 60 134, V 1, 19 2, 39 45 94 (Kār 2), 3, 83, VI 1, 168, 4, 46 62 74 128, VII 1, 96, 4, 46 (Kār 1), VIII 2, 25 55 68 (Kār. 1, 2), 3, 45, 4, 68. The repetition of some of these Kārikā Vārttikas has no doubt been omitted, because the commentary of Patañjali allowed the whole verse or half a verse of this text to remain uninterrupted (see note 115). In the Calcutta edition all these Kārikās are given in their metrical integrity

of the heads I have mentioned above¹¹⁷ Nor need we hesitate at the idea of a poetical author of *Vārttikas*. Not only were whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse,¹¹⁸ but it is a common occurrence with scientific commentators in India, that they cannot resist the temptation of running into verse, even at the risk of endangering their prosaic task. We need only remember another celebrated author of *Vārttikas*, Kumārila, who writes alternately in *Śloka* and prose. It might seem more remarkable that Patañjali should write in verse and comment upon this himself, but *Mādhava* affords an analogous instance in his *Jaṃiniya nyāya-mālā-vistara*, *Vīṣṇuātha-Pañchānana* wrote a commentary in prose, the *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*, on his metrical exposition of the *Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy, the *Bhāṣhā-parichchheda*, *Daivyaharāma* explained in prose his versified *Muhūrta Chintāmaṇi*, *Vardhmāna* did the same with his *Ganaratna-mahodadhī*, and many more instances could be adduced to show that there is nothing striking, or even remarkable, in the assumption that Patañjali

117 Thus, on the first four *Kārikās* to IV 1, 78, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* observes एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव न वार्तिककृत — which words, moreover, plainly intimate that there exist *Kārikās* composed by *Kātyāyana*, or in the latter part of *Kātyāyana's* comment on the *Kārikās* to VI 1, 103 we read इत्यादिना विविष्टमेव लिङ्गलक्षण भाष्यकारेणाश्रितम् । — In his comment on the *Kārikās* to IV 8, 60, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa*, in referring to the remark of Patañjali, मुखपार्थ इत्येतान्या नसन्ताभ्यामीदप्रत्ययो वक्तव्य (which words explain the beginning of the second *Kārikā*) observes भाष्ये तन्मन्ताभ्यामिति वाचके आपत्वात्समास, and on a further remark of *Kātyāyana* प्रकृतवार्तिकप्रबोधनमाह । On the affix तवे in the second *Kārikā* to VI 1, 158, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* remarks वाचिके तवेऽङ्ग सूत्रोपलक्षणम्, on the first *Kārikā* to VI 2, 1 इति निबन्धोऽभिह इति वार्तिकार्थ, on *Kātyāyana* to the first *Kārikā* to VI 3, 46 अन्यप्रकृतिरिति वार्तिकस्यमन्यशब्द व्याचष्टे, on *Kātyāyana* to the second fourth of *Kārikā* 1 to VI 4, 12 वार्तिके सुगीति, etc, on a various reading in the second *Kārikā* to VII 3, 86 वार्तिकेऽनद्योप इति पाठ, etc — In his gloss on the *Kārikās* to VIII 4, 68 says नरद विवृतोपदेशादन्यथापि विवृतोपदेशे सवर्णग्रहणाय इति वार्तिक इत्या पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम् ।

118 For instance, the *Pāṇiniya Sūtras* and the *Rik Prāśasthya*.

composed grammatical verses and commented on them in prose ¹¹⁹

After the foregoing observations, the authorship of those Kārikās, which, apparently, form a third category, can create no difficulty so far as Kātyāyana is concerned. They were neither written by him, nor before his time. The manner in which Patañjali comments on them, and their very contents, show that they cannot be assimilated to Kātyāyana's Kārikās, which, as I mentioned before, are dealt with by him in the same manner as the Vārtikas in prose. There is either scarcely

119 I owe to the kindness of Dr Fitz-Edward Hall an extract from his "Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems," which mentions besides Visvanātha-Pāñchānana, eleven authors who wrote twelve works in verse and commented on them in prose. As this extract is, on other grounds, of considerable interest, I will, with Dr Hall's permission, forestall the arrival in Europe of his important work, and here subjoin the substance of his communication. He names in it, besides the author of the Bhāṣhā-parichebbheda — 1 *Jīvarāja-Dīkṣita*, who wrote the *Tarka kākā* (on the *Vaisesika*) in verse, and a commentary on it in prose, the *Tarka māñjarī*, 2 *Vidyāranyābhāṣya* the author of the *Vedāntādhikarana-mālā* (in verse) and a prose exposition interspersed, 3 *Prakāśananda* or *Anatānanda-kṛṣṇa* (?), the author of the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, 4 *Vasudeva-Brahma Prasāda*, the author of the *Sacchidānandānubhavapradīpikā*, 5 *Lakṣmīdhara-Kaṁ*, who wrote the *Advaita-makaranda*, 6 *Śaṅkarābhāṣya*, to whom the *Ātmabodha* is ascribed, and likewise a comment on it, entitled *Ajñānabodhinī*, 7 *Śaṅkarānanda*, the author of the *Ātmapurāṇa* and a comment on it, the *Ātmapurāṇa dīpikā*, 8 *Appayya-Dīkṣita*, the author of the *Brahma-tarka-stava* and the *Brahma tarka-stava-vivaraṇa*, 9 10 *Vallabhābhāṣya* the author of the *Puṣṭi-pravāha-maryādā bheda* and a *Vivaraṇa* on it, and likewise of the *Antahkarana prabodha* and a *Vivṛti* on it, 11 *Gaṅgādharaśaraṇatī*, the author of the *Siddhānta-sūktamāñjarī* (an abridgement of the *Siddhāntaleśa*) and a *Prakāśa* of it, and 12 *Govindasūtrin*, who wrote the *Atharvānārāṣya* and a commentary on it — All these works (except the first) treat on the *Vedānta* — their text is in verse and their commentary in prose.

any comment on the Kārikās of this class, or his comment assumes more the nature of a general exposition, which is intended to work out the sense of the Kārikā, but not to give, at the same time, a gloss, in the usual sense of this word.¹²⁰ In short, a comparison of these Kārikās with those of the two other classes, must lead to the conclusion that, in reality, they are no separate class, but belong either to one or the other. They are partly Patañjali's own arguments expressed in verse and amplified in prose, or the composition of that "other"

120 Thus the two half verses of a Kārikā to I 1, III (omitted in the Calc. ed.), are interrupted and accompanied by a brief remark, as will appear from the following quotation (ed. Ballantyne, p. 492) *दृष्टद्वितानां मह्यं तु कार्यं सन्धाविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्चिता ये* (first half verse) *॥ तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । इहा मा मूल । एको द्वौ बहुव श्रुतिः ॥ तस्मात्स्वरदिप्रवृत्तं च कार्यं दृष्टद्वितानां मह्यं च वाटे* (second half verse) *॥ वाटेनेष्टमयदस्य निरते मेद न प्राप्नोति । परमोर्ध्वं परमनीचैरिति*—The Bhāṣya on the first two half verses of the Kārikā to III 1, 123 (which are left uninterrupted), merely consists of the words *निवृत्त्यर्थं चिन्तयितुं युक्तम्*, on the following portion, *व्यादेवमावतुर्न ब्रह्म*, of the instances *देवहूय । प्रणय । उग्रय । उच्छिष्य ।* on *वनम्भश्च यनो विनि*, of the instances *मय । मयार्धव्य । गय*, and the like on the last half verse—The comment on the Kārikā to IV. 2, 13 runs thus *अथवा कुमार्या मनः कोमार । यद्येव कोमारी भाष्येति न निवृत्तिं युवोभान्भिमानं मयिष्यति । कोमारस्व माता कोमा ?*—The whole Bhāṣya on the Kārikās to VI 4, 120, is the following, on the first half verse *छन्दस्वमिन्द्रोपाति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रवोचनम् । अनेद⁰⁰*, and on the rest, which is given without any interruption *अनिस्तोत्रं विधिरिति*—The Kārikā to VI 4, 149, which also is given entire—up to *नवा*, which is preceded only by the word *अग्निवत्*—is followed by these words *अग्निवै च दूरे* सूत्रे—The Bhāṣya on the whole continuous first Kārikā to VIII 3, 45, consists of these words *व्यपेक्षामामर्थ्यं पूर्वयोग । न चात्र व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यम् । किं पुनः कारणम् । पूर्वयोगो व्यपेक्षामामर्थ्यमाश्रये न पुनरेवाधीमाश्रे यथान्वयः*, on the first half of the second, the Bhāṣya runs *येराय्ये मनि वाक्ये वत् न स्यात् । मपिचरोति । मपि करोताति*, on the uninterrupted second half and first half of the third Kārikā, यदि *दृष्टमेतन्नोचितस्य वच न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । प्रत्ययस्य यस्मात्प्रत्ययदेशं भवतीति वाक्येति नहि न प्राप्नोति । परम सपिचरोति*, on the second half of the third Kārikā *यदमनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति प्रतिषेध इति तज्ज्ञापयत्वाचार्य । भवति वाक्ये विभाषति*, fourth Kārikā, etc

grammarian whom we have encountered before. There are, indeed, two of these Kārikās which are distinctly ascribed by Patañjali to this grammarian, and a third which quotes Kātyāyana, and cannot therefore belong to this author of the Vārttikas.¹²¹

Another and very important class of grammatical writings frequently adverted to in the Mahābhāṣya is familiar to Hindu grammarians under the name of *Paribhāṣhās*. They do not amend and criticise, but teach the proper application of the rules of Pāṇini. While the *Sanjñā*-rules explain the technical terms of his work, the *Paribhāṣhās* explain the general principles, according to which the Sūtras are to be applied. Thus, when Pāṇini or other grammarians teach the meaning of the terms *Guna*, *Vṛddhi*, *Upasarga*, *Gati*, *Dvandva*, etc., the rules devoted to this purpose are *Sanjñā*-rules; but when Pāṇini says, "If a grammatical element in the Sūtras has the mute letter *m* this *anubandha* indicates that such an element has to be added after the last vowel of the radical or base with which it is to be joined," or if he states, "The sixth case in a Sūtra means that, instead of that which is expressed by this case, something else, enjoined by the Sūtra, is to be substituted,"—such rules are *Paribhāṣhā*-rules.¹²²

121 The Kārikās to I 1, 38, VI 4, 149, and VIII 3, 45, belong, in all probability, to Patañjali, and those to III 1, 123, 2, 118 123 (Kār 3), IV 2, 13, and VI 4, 120, to the "other" grammarians. The Kārikā to III 1, 123, is distinctly introduced by Patañjali with the words अपर आह—The third Kārikā to III 2, 123, which has no other comment than the words हिमवानपि गच्छन्ति, is thus introduced by him, together with the two preceding and the two following verses अपर आह । नास्ति वतमान काल इति । अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । न वर्तन्, etc. Compare note 107.—The first Kārikā to III 2, 118, explicitly refers to Kātyāyana, in quoting his second Vārttika to this Sūtra.

122 Compare I 1, 1 ■ etc., and other Sūtras marked in the edition सहास्रदेश, and I 1, 47 49 and other Sūtras marked there परिभाषासूत्रम्. But the Calcutta editors have failed in accuracy, also, in this respect. Thus the rule I 1, 21, आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्, is marked by them as an अनिदेश, but Patañjali calls it distinctly परिभाषा, or I 1, 69,

A *Paribhāṣhā* contains either a special mark, which enables the reader to recognise at once the *Sūtra* to which it refers, or it is delivered without such a criterion. In the latter case, it is matter of discrimination to see whether it applies unconditionally or conditionally to a given *Sūtra*. In explaining, for instance (I 1, 3), that "whenever *Gūṃ* or *Vṛddhi* is the subject of a rule, these terms are used in reference to the vowels *i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, and ɪ* only," Pāṇini, by these technical terms, gives us the power of distinguishing at first sight, as it were, the *Sūtras* affected by this *Paribhāṣhā*. But when he says (I 1, 54), "If a rule is given in reference to something which follows, it concerns merely the beginning of such a following element," it is for the reader to judge whether this *Paribhāṣhā* prevails unconditionally at, and is an essential part of, for instance, rule VII 2, 83, or not. Again, when a *Paribhāṣhā* (I 4, 2) teaches that "If two rules connected with one another, but of a different purport, apparently apply to the same case, the later rule only is valid," it is left to his judgement to decide whether it may be applicable or not to rule VII 3, 103, for instance.¹²³

अणुदितस्यार्णवस्य व्याप्तस्य च, has their mark मन्त्राप्रदेश, but is called by Katyāyana himself a *Paribhāṣhā* (ed Ballantyne, p 763), or I 1 72, येन विधिरन्तस्य is marked by them मन्त्राप्रदेश, but Patañjali likewise calls it a *Paribhāṣhā* (ed Ballantyne, p 372) द्वयोः परिभाषयोः नावकाशयोः मनवद्वयवशादाद्यन्तद्वयस्येन विधिरन्तस्येति च । इवमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आद्यन्तद्वयस्येति । इयं च न भविष्यति येन विधिरन्तस्येति, etc

123 *Purushottama-vṛtti śikṣā* on Pāṇini, I 1, 3 परि सर्वशास्त्र उपपुन्य वाणी भाषा सा परिभाषा सा च लिङ्गवत्ता विध्यङ्गोपभूता च । या लिङ्गद्वाराभावे (MS E I H N 224, "वाचो") नोपयुज्यते सा लिङ्गवत् । या सर्वैव विधिवाच्य उपयुज्यते सापरा । नापि वाचिद्विधेरङ्गभूता या विना विधिर्मन्त्रानैव प्रवर्तते । यथा । आदे परस्येति (I 1, 54) । न (MS अ) हि तदिना इत्यस रति (VII 2, 83) प्रवर्तते । ना चिच्च विधिर्ङ्गभूता । विप्रतिषेधे परमिति (I 4, 2) विप्रतिषेधे बृहोत्तरवाचो ह्यन्येत्तम व्याहृतमेव (comp VII 3, 103) । विप्रतिषेधे तु ण्कारपर (MS ण्त्वापर) व्याख्यानं । The explanation of the *Kāśikā*—which in general is much more lucid, and on the whole not more extensive than the compiled gloss of the Calcutta edition—runs thus on the word विप्रतिषेध (I 4, 2) विरोधो विप्रतिषेध । अथ द्वौ प्रमह्वावन्वाधावस्मि युगपत्प्राप्नुत म विप्रतिषेध । तुल्य षष्ठविरोधो विप्रतिषेध ।

The Paribhāshās, however, which are to be the subject of the following remarks, are not those given by Pāṇini himself they are the Paribhāshās met with in the Great Commentary of Patañjali, and have been defined by Vaidyanātha, surnamed *Pāyagunda*, in his gloss on the *Paribhāshendu-śekhara* of Nāgojibhatta, surnamed the *Upādhyāya*, as “axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by certain Sūtras of Pāṇini, and axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by the method that governs other works, but are applicable to Pāṇini also” Each of these categories has been taught, as they state, by “older grammarians, in the shape of Sūtras” the former however, Vaidyanātha observes, prevail in number and authority over the latter In other words, these Paribhāshās are, according to the grammarians quoted, special axioms referring to Pāṇini exclusively and general axioms which avail for his Grammar as well as for other works The “certain” Sūtras of Pāṇini which indicate that such Paribhāshās are in existence and are required for a proper application of the rules, are called *Jāpaka* and the method of other authors which indicates that those Paribhāshās are applicable as well to them as to Pāṇini bear the name of *Nyāya* ¹²⁴ We shall see, however, that this definition, to be correct, will have to be modified, and I may mention, besides, that older commentators, Kaiyata, for instance, merely speak of Paribhāshās and Nyāyas, not of Paribhāshās founded on Nyāyas, while the author of the *Paribhāshendu-śekhara* himself frequently gives the name of Nyāya to those Paribhāshās

124 *Paribhāshendusekhara*, in the introduction प्राचीनवैयकरणम्त्र
वाचनिकान्यत्र पाणिनाये तत्र शापकन्यायसिद्धानि भाष्यवाक्यिकयोर्निवृद्धानि यानि परि-
भाषारूपाणि तानि व्याख्यायन्ते *Paribhāshendusekhara Kāśikā* of Vaidyanātha on
these words प्राचानि । इन्द्रादात्वय । वाचनिकानि । सूत्ररूपेण पठितानि । अत्र ।
अस्मिन् । एवमग्रेषुपि शापकेष्वपि प्रायेणेयादि । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्तद्वचि-
ताना नष्टम् । न्यायसिद्धान्तापसिद्ध्यस्य (MS E I H No 490 न्यायसिद्धान-
ता) प्राग्वयेनाम्बुहितत्वाभापकशब्दस्य द्वन्द्वे पूर्वनिपात (comp II 2, 34, v
3) । तदेतत्तद्व्याख्यानं शापकम् । एतच्चद्वन्द्वयोग्येकन्यायतत्प्रसिद्धयुक्तित्वात् । सूत्र
पाठस्य परिभाषाशामत्राव्यहस्यतया प्राचीनोक्तानां कामादिप्रामाण्याय च भाष्येति etc

bhāshās which, according to his introductory words, are such as are founded on Nyāya ¹²⁵

125 The *Laghuparibhāṣāvṛtti* is therefore divided into a gloss on what we may call the Paribhāṣās proper and a gloss on the न्यायमूला परिभाषा which comprise twenty-eight axioms. This distinction is somewhat obscured in the *Paribhāṣendusekhaṛa*, where both categories are mentioned in the introduction (comp the preceding note), but afterwards treated promiscuously. The Calcutta edition has, in most instances, correctly appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra which is its *Jāṣpaka*; thus the P निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति which is required for the proper application of *e g* the Sūtra VI 4, 130, VII 2, 101, etc., is correctly appended in this edition to the *Jāṣpaka*-Sūtra I 1, 49, the P नानुबन्धकृतमनेकत्वम् which applies *e g* to VI 4, 127 to the *Jāṣpaka* I 1, 55, the P सकृदती विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाचित तद्वाचितमेव which applies *e g* to VI 4, 106 combined with VII 1, 35, to the *Jāṣpaka* I 4, 2, and so on. Sometimes, however, the editors have appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra for the interpretation of which it is required, but not to the *Jāṣpaka* rule where it ought to have been placed, *e g* the p विकरणभ्यो नियमो बलायाम् applies to I 3, 12, but its *Jāṣpaka* is I 3 43; or the P नानुबन्धकृतमनेकत्वम् is required for the proper interpretation of I 1, 20, VI 1, 45, etc., but its *Jāṣpaka* is III 4, 19, etc. In some instances the authorities named differ as to the *Jāṣpaka* of a Paribhāṣā, thus the P अर्धवद्भङ्गेनानयकस्य ग्रहणम् is indicated according to the *Paribhāṣendusekhaṛa* which invokes the authority of Patañjali by the *Jāṣpaka* I 1, 72, according to the *Laghuparibhāṣāvṛtti*, by the *Jāṣpaka* I 1, 34, the Calc editors have placed it under I 1, 68. —The P सकृदतिवर्तुनकरण भवति is indicated, according to the first named work, by the *Jāṣpaka* VI 4, 59, according to the second, by the *Jāṣpaka* I 3, 18, the editors have appended it to VIII 2, 46, which Sūtra, however, merely illustrates its applicability. Many other instances of this kind might be alleged in order to show that the matter is one of great difficulty to the Hindu grammarians themselves, and that in this respect, also, much scope is left for a future conscientious edition of Pāṇini. That the Paribhāṣās are not met with at the end of Patañjali's Bhāṣya to a Sūtra, requires no further observation after the statement of note 109, for they are an essential portion of the arguments of his discussion. — The term *व्याय* is applied six times to Paribhāṣās by the Calcutta editors

In now adverting to the chronological relation in which these axioms stand to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, we are, in the first place, enabled to decide that Paribhāshās of this kind must have existed before the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, for the latter quotes such Paribhāshās in his Vārttikas¹²⁶. Another question, however, is, whether those Paribhāshās which existed before Kātyāyana existed also before Pāṇini, and whether we should be justified in looking upon the Paribhāshās collected in the Paribhāshendu-śekhara, the Paribhāshā-sangraha, and similar works, as the original Paribhāshās to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. If we believed Vaidyanātha's definition of the two categories of Paribhāshās, and of the distinction he establishes between *Jñāpaka* and *Nyāya* as just mentioned, it would become very probable that the Paribhāshās were composed *after* the Grammar of Pāṇini, and by another grammarian than Pāṇini, since there is no evidence to show that he wrote other Paribhāshās than those which are embodied in his own Sūtras, and if we assumed that the collections of Paribhāshās made and commented upon by Nāgopbhata, Śrādeva, and others, are the original collections, there would be a certainty that the "older grammarians," whom the former quotes as his authority, did

(viz at the Sūtras I 1, 23 42 47, twice II 1, 1, I I 1, 12) but if they followed the Paribhāshā collections quoted, they ought to have marked in a similar manner several axioms which are given by them simply as Paribhāshās. At all events, they ought not to have called the same axiom ननिबबुत्तम¹²⁷ *Nyāya*, at III 1, 12, and *Paribhāshā*, at VI 1, 71, and since they repeated it in order to show its application, they might have mentioned it also at VI 1 135, where it likewise occurs in the commentary of Patañjali.

126 Vārttika to I 1, 65, which has disappeared in the Calcutta edition, says अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यामविकारे, its last words नानर्थके, etc., are a Paribhāshā, as results from the Bhāṣya on this Vārttika अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेत् । तत्र । किं वारणम् । नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यामविकारे । अनर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यस्य विधिर्नैतदेव परिभाषा वनंया । किम विशेषेण । नेत्याह । ननभ्यामविकारे । Compare also a similar instance, in note 137

not precede Pāṇini, for one, or perhaps two of these axioms, mentioned in each of these collections, distinctly refer to him ¹²⁷

There are, however, reasons which must induce us to doubt the originality of the *Paribhāṣhās* contained in these collections, and to doubt too the strict correctness of Vaidyanātha's definition. In the first place, because these collections, each of which appears to be entitled to equal authority, differ in the number, and even in the wording, of the *Paribhāṣhās* which they contain, though they coincide in giving all those *Paribhāṣhās* which especially concern us here ¹²⁸. It is not probable, therefore, that the original collection of *Paribhāṣhās* was any of those now preserved in manuscript. But there is more ground to confirm this doubt. The *Paribhāṣhendusekhara* states, in its introduction, that it is going to explain "the axioms explicitly mentioned by the older grammarians and recorded in the *Bhāṣhya* and the *Vārttikas*"—whereupon Vaidyanātha comments "The older grammarians are Indra and so on, 'explicitly mentioned' means read in the shape of *Sūtras*, 'in the *Bhāṣhya*' says the author of the *Paribhāṣhendusekhara*,

127 The *Paribhāṣhā* to IV 1, 82 अकृण्व्यूरा पाणिनीया, and the P to VIII 1 1 पूर्वनासिद्धायमदित्व which is, perhaps, founded on the *Sūtra* VIII 2, 1, but as the expression पूर्वनासिद्धम् need not be a quotation from Pāṇini, it would not be safe to found a conclusion on it with the same certainty as on the word पाणिनीया. For this reason I do not lay stress on another *Paribhāṣhā* which occurs in the *Paribhāṣhārthasangrahaśyākhya chandrikā* and the *Laghubaribhāṣhāvṛtti* and is founded on VII. 4, 2 पूर्वनासिद्ध न स्थानिषद (its wording in the *Laghubaribhāṣhāvṛtti* is erroneous. Compare note 132.)

128 The number of *Paribhāṣhās* in the *Paribhāṣhendusekhara* is 108, it may, however, be given as 112, as several P are contracted into one, in the *Paribhāṣhāvṛtti* of *Siradeva* it is 139, in the *Laghubaribhāṣhāvṛtti* add the *Paribhāṣhārthasangraha śyākhya chandrikā* there are 108 *Paribhāṣhās* proper and 28 *vyājanāṣṭh* P, some of the latter being included in the 108 of the first named work. Another collection, which does not mention the name of the compiler, but bears the title of *Pāṇinimatnugamāni Paribhāṣhā*, has 123 *Paribhāṣhās*. Each of these collections has some *Paribhāṣhās* which are not named in several of the others.

because it is not his intention to explain the Paribhāshās which are embodied in Pāṇini's Sūtras, and because some of those mentioned by the older grammarians carry no authority with them "129

Now, if we compare the Paribhāshās collected in the last-named work, and in the other works devoted to the same purpose, with the Great Commentary itself, we find that they frequently call that a Paribhāshā which is not a quotation made by Patañjali from authorities which preceded him, but simply a portion of his own argument. No doubt, when this great critic considered himself justified in laying down general principles according to which certain Sūtras are to be interpreted or applied, such axioms of his are, to all intents and purposes, Paribhāshās, but they are Paribhāshās of his, not of the authorities who preceded him.¹³⁰ And this distinction we must draw

129 See note 124

130 I mentioned in note 109 that the absence or presence in the Bhāṣya of the quotational word इति affords no criterion in the case of the *metrical* Ārṇāḥ. It is necessary to state now that this word is always met with when a Paribhāshā is quoted by Patañjali, and its absence is therefore a safe mark that a general axiom which occurs in his commentary is one of his own creation. A few instances chosen from the first chapters of the Mahābhāṣya will make good this assertion. We read in the Bhāṣya on I 1, 20 (p 395, ed Ballantyne) दोष एवैतस्या परिभाषाया । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति । गामादाग्रहणेऽविशेष इति (the former of these P is omitted in the Calc ed), or at I 1, 49 (p 565) निदश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तात्येषा परिभाषा etc, or at I 1 55 (p 608) अस्त्येषा परिभाषा । नानुबन्धवृत्तमनेराल्ब भवतीति, or at I 1, 16 (p 377) एव तद्धि गौगमुच्ययोर्मुत्तये कार्यसम्प्रत्यय इति, or at I 2, 63 तच्चा पयत्वाचाय भवो द्रन्दो विभाषयेनवद्भवानि (not विभाषैश्च as in the Calc ed), or at I 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति तदेतदुपपन्नमिति । सङ्गदानी विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधित तद्वाधितमेवेति when in the latter three instances the word इति indicates that the preceding words are a Paribhāshā while in the first three instances the term itself is added, and इति afterwards. On the other hand, when we read at I 1, 27 (p 442) नैय दोष । भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्वृत्तसविज्ञानमपि । तत्का । चित्रवाससमानय etc, or in the

in order to judge whether Patañjali originated an axiom merely for the purpose of defending Pānini, or whether the Sūtra in question is *bona fide* entitled to the benefit of such a general rule, since it is certain that several of these axioms were invented at later periods, either to palliate the shortcomings of Pānini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend from the time at which he lived down to a period of linguistic

Bhāṣya on the same Sūtra (p 448) ' कर्तव्योऽत्र वक्तुः । वाचकान्येव हि निपातानि भवन्ति, the words बहुव्रीहौ^{१०} मपि and वाचकान्येव^{११} are undoubtedly Patañjali's own, and it may, in passing, be observed that the Paribhāṣhendur-sekhara and the Calc ed have omitted the word हि in giving these words as Paribhāṣhās. Or when the Bhāṣya on the Vārttika शतशानचोश्च निमित्तमावाचितोऽपवादस्त्वोरपवादत्वात् (omitted in the Calc ed), to II 3, 46, says शतशानचौ निष्कृपवाशौ नौ चान् वाचनी । न चापवा-विषयमुत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते । पूर्व उपवादा अभिनिविशन्ते पश्चादुत्सर्गा । प्रत्ययवापवा-विषय तत् उत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते । न तावदन क्वाचित्किञ्चिददेशो भवति etc , the words पूर्व^{१२} अभिनिविशते are clearly a portion of Patañjali's general argument, and do not contain Paribhāṣhās of older grammarians — These instances will illustrate the uncritical condition of the actual collections of Paribhāṣhās. Some of these Paribhāṣhās, moreover, are nothing else than Vārttikas of Kātyāyana forming part of the discussion of the latter, they, too, are therefore not the oldest Paribhāṣhās, since, as we have seen above (note 126) Kātyāyana quotes a Paribhāṣhā which must have preceded his Vārttikas. Such Paribhāṣhā Vārttikas, which are commented upon by Patañjali in the same manner as the Vārttikas—while he generally contents himself with merely quoting a Paribhāṣhā rule—are, for instance, the P to I, 1, 66 उभयनिर्देश विभक्तिवेधात्पञ्चमीनिर्देश, or to I 1, 72 व्यपदेशिवद्भाषोऽप्रातिपदिकेन, or १० पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च, or प्रत्ययग्रहण चापञ्चमा, etc. Other Paribhāṣhās of the Paribhāṣhendur-sekhara, etc, do not even represent the words of Patañjali, but merely the meaning of his general arguments e g, the P given at I 2, 3, पर्जन्यवह्न्युत्पत्ति, is the representative of the following words of the Bhāṣya हुनकारि चत्वरिंशत्त पञ्चमवत् । तद्यथा । पर्जन्यो यावद्गन् पुनश्च सवर्गमिवपति, etc, and other Paribhāṣhās, again, so far as I was able to ascertain, do not occur at all in the Bhāṣya, e g, the P at I 1, 62 63, II 3, 46 (par 2), etc

development, which could not but find them defective in many respects ¹³¹

There is a material difference, therefore, between the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, *when taken as a whole*, and the Paribhāshās quoted by Patañjali, and no conclusion becomes safe until we know which Paribhāshās are quotations made by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and which belong to their authorship, or even to other and later works. It suffices for our present purpose to add, that neither the first Paribhāshā already mentioned, which distinctly refers to Pāṇini, nor the second, is a Paribhāshā quoted by Patañjali or Kātyāyana ¹³²

We are left, then, free to judge of the relative age of these axioms entirely from their contents, and to weigh the probabilities which decide whether they could all have been written after Pāṇini or not. These probabilities strongly tend in favour of the latter alternative. For, however many of these *old* Paribhāshās may have been additions made after Pāṇini's though before Patañjali's time, we still shall have to admit that without a *great number* of them, a *proper* application of his rules is absolutely impossible. Without them, many rules would become open to equivocations and doubts, nay, to such serious

131 Such Paribhāshās, are e.g., ममामान्नविचिरनित्य, at VI 2, 197 and the nine P mentioned at III 1, 79, by the Calcutta editors.

132 The Paribhāshā अकृतव्यूहा पाणिनीया is mentioned in Kaityāyana's gloss on the Bhāshya to IV 1, 82, but not by Patañjali. The P पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमदिवचने is, in my opinion, a portion of Patañjali's own argument, when commenting on the 10th Vārtika (of the Calcutta edition), to VIII 1, 1, as results from the following quotation
 पीन पुन्य पीन पुनिक इति । अप्रातिपदिकत्वाच्चदितोत्पत्तिन स्यात् । यदि तर्हि स्थान दिवचन राज्ञा वाक्यापदस्येति (?) नलोपादानि न सिध्यन्ति इदमिह सम्प्रसार्य दिवचन क्रियता नलोपादीनानि । किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वात्रल्यपादानि पूर्वत्रासिद्ध नलोपादीनि मिद्वमिद्वयोऽ नस्ति सम्प्रधारण । एव तर्हि पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमदिवचन इति वक्ष्यामि etc
 The same remark applies to the third Paribhāshā mentioned in note 127 for the passage of the Bhāshya to VII 4, 2, whence this Paribhāshā is taken, runs thus तद्व्यापयत्याचार्य । इत उत्तरस्थानिवद्भवो न भवतीति । किमेतस्य शापने प्रयोजन पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवदित्युक्तम् । तत्र नक्त्य भवति etc

objections, that it is hardly possible to conceive a grammarian of the mould of Pāṇini handing his work to his contemporaries in a condition so needlessly precarious, and so little creditable to his skill¹³³ Nevertheless, if he had delivered his grammar

133 Two instances will suffice to illustrate this character of what I consider to be the oldest *Paribhāṣā*s. In the rule III 1, 94, Pāṇini teaches that if, in his chapter on *kṛt*-affixes, a subsequent rule supersedes a preceding rule, either of the kind of affixes enjoined by such rules may be at will employed in the formation of a *kṛt*-derivative, except when the affix enjoined is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and when the affixes in the preceding and subsequent rules are the same form. Thus the Sūtra III 1, 133, teaches that nouns denoting the agent are formed with the affixes *ṇol* (= *aka*) and *trā* (= *tr*). Again, Sūtra III 1, 136, says that from *kṣip* and other radicals there named, such derivatives are formed with the affix *ka* (= *a*) hence, according to the *Paribhāṣā* rule III 1, 94, the nouns of agent formed of *kṣip* may be *kṣip*, or *kṣepa* or *kṣeptr*, since none of these affixes is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and none has the same form as the two remaining ones. But when Pāṇini rules, in III 2, 3, that form *da* a derivative may be formed *da* (as latter part of compounds like *ga da*, etc.) and, in III 3, 12, a derivative *dāya* (as latter part of such compounds as *ga dāya*, etc.) it would become doubtful whether there be an option also in these instances, since the technical affix of the form *da* is *ka*, and of the form *dāya*, *ṇa*, and since it is not clear whether *ka* and *ṇa* could be considered as affixes of a different form, or — on account of their representing the real affix *a*, though with a different influence on the radical — as affixes of the same form. This doubt is not solved by Pāṇini himself, but by a *Paribhāṣā* quoted by Patañjali, which says “नानुबन्धितमसारूप्यम्”, “dissimilarity (of the affixes) is not produced by the mute *anubandhas*.” And Pāṇini must have supposed that his readers were acquainted with this *Paribhāṣā*, for otherwise, as an accurate writer, he could not — in the Sūtra III 1, 126 — have treated, without any further explanation, the affixes *ṇa* (= *a*) and *ka* (= *a*) as similar affixes, and exempted them as such from the influence of the rule III 1, 94 — Or when, in the Sūtra VI 1, 48 (and VII 3, 36), he says that the radical *z*, before the affix of the causal, becomes *ṣp*, his rule (VI 1, 57) on *ṣp* would be equivocal, since the

entirely without any Paribhāṣhā, we might still be free to assume, without inconsistency, that in doing so, he meant to the acumen of his commentators the task of eliciting these general principles from his grammatical rules. But we know that such is not the case, his work bears evidence that he *has* given Paribhāṣhā-rules,—axioms which are in no way more important than many of those which are met with in the Mahābhāṣhya, but not in his work,—axioms which admit of the same arguments for or against their desirability or their indispenableness in a book of this kind. The omission of these rules, then, would not be one made on principle, it would assume the nature of a serious defect, unless we discovered a motive which would reconcile it with the accuracy that characterises this great grammarian.

We have proof — and some will be afforded in the sequel — that Pāṇini was not the *inventor* of the grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, and made his own additions to it. We shall see, moreover, that he availed himself of the technical means of the older grammarians, and, in such a case, never gave any explanation of those technicalities which must have been known to his contemporaries, and, therefore, required no remark. If then, we supposed that he followed the same course with regard to the Paribhāṣhā rules — and there is no reason why he should not — our inference would, of necessity, be that he was compelled to give such Paribhāṣhā as did not occur in the works of his predecessors, and were required as special axioms for his own work, but that, without exposing himself to the reproach of carelessness, he could omit all those Paribhāṣhās which were already in existence, and were available, as well for the grammar of his predecessors as for his own.

And this conclusion is confirmed by the sense in which the term *Jāpaka* is used in the older commentaries, espe-

cially in the *Śānti* and *Śānti* — unless he relied on the familiarity of his reader with the Paribhāṣhā, which states *अथवापि पदोक्तयोः प्रणिपदोक्तस्य*, '(if there is a doubt) whether a secondary or a primitive form (be meant), the primitive form (has the precedence)'

cially in the Mahābhāṣya itself, were by this name are called such rules of Pāṇini as "indicate" or point to other rules which show how the former rules are to be applied properly. In commenting, for instance, on a Vārttika to the Sūtra I 1, 23, which defines the technical term *sankhyā* Patañjali asks, "how will there be in rules on *sankhyā* a correct understanding of this term?" and answers this question in the following manner. "(This understanding) results from the *Jñāpaka*-rule. What is such a *Jñāpaka*-rule? When Pāṇini, in his Sūtra V 1, 23, teaches that bases formed with the affix *vat*, have an additional vowel *i* before the affix *kā* enjoined in the preceding rule for *sankhyās*,—is this Sūtra V. 1, 23, the *Jñāpaka*-rule of *sankhyā*? (*i* e does this Sūtra indicate that bases formed with *vat* are comprised under the technical name *sankhyā*?) No. For the term *Jñāpaka* concerns the application of a rule (*i* e this term is not used of a Sūtra when its application is prohibited, the Sūtras V 2, 51 and 52, for instance, as Kaiyyata observes, are *Jñāpakas* of the Sūtra on *sankhyā*)¹³⁴

134 Vārttika to I 1, 23 (om in the Calc ed., § 432 ed Ballantyne) ब्रह्मदानामग्रहणम् Patañjali ब्रह्मदानां ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम् । केनेदानीं सख्याप्रदेशेषु सख्यासम्प्रत्ययो भविष्यति । शापरात्मिङ्गम् । शापक किम् । यदयं वनो रिटवेति (V 1, 23) सख्याया निहितस्य वनो (comp V 1, 22) बत्वनारिट् शास्ति । वनोरेव तज्ज्ञापक-स्यात् नेत्याह । योगापेक्ष शापकम् — Kaiyyata - शापकारिङ्गमिति । ण्कारादिबन्धितमख्यावाचित्वं ब्रह्मदीना नास्तीति शापकाश्रय योगापेक्षमिति । अस्य योगस्य प्रत्याख्यानादेतद्योगापेक्षमिति न बोद्धव्यम् । किं तु योगानपेक्षत इति योगापेक्षम् । यदयं बहुपुनरागमनस्य निमुक्त्वा (V 2, 52) वदन्तीति (V 2, 41) इति परत आगम शास्ति न ज्ञापयति भवति सख्यावाच्यमिति Nāgajibhaṭṭa explains योगापेक्षमिति । प्रयोगापेक्षमित्यर्थः — This instance will suffice to illustrate the use of the word *Jñāpaka*, which is of constant occurrence in the Bhāṣya, and is always employed in a similar manner. In order to obviate an objection which might be raised by those not familiar with the Mahābhāṣya against my rendering वनोरेव तज्ज्ञापक स्यात् "is this Sūtra V 1, 23," etc.,—I have to observe that Patañjali when quoting a Sūtra, often merely mentions its principal word, instead of repeating the word of the Sūtra and adding after them the quotational word इति. The word वनो taken from the Sūtra वनोरिट्वा is therefore here an equivalent of वनोरिट्वेति. Analogous instances will be found in note 136.

Hence, though a rule may stand in relation to another rule, it is not its *Jāpaka* unless it indicate its real purpose,¹³⁵ and as Patañjali expressly and repeatedly states, a rule has the character of a *Jāpaka* only when it is given in reference to a rule already previously established, and when its sense becomes completed by it. Thus the Sūtra III 2, 97, says Patañjali, is no *Jāpaka* of the Guna rule I 1, 3, since the former rule does not become completed through the contents of the latter. Or, the Sūtra VII 2, 103 is not a *Jāpaka* of the rule VII 2, 102, since its object would not be accomplished by the contents of this latter rule, though the words concerned by both rules are comprised under the term *sarva-nāman*.¹³⁶ In consequence, a *Jāpaka* rule cannot precede, but must come after the rule which is indicated by it.

In now considering the relation which exists between the *Jāpakas* and the *Paribhāṣā-Sūtras*,¹³⁷ we cannot but perceive

135 Patañjali observes, for instance, in his comment on the first Śivasūtra (p 87 ed Ballantyne) कथं ज्ञायते यदयम् (VIII 4, 68) अस्त्यकारस्य विवृतस्य सञ्चतताप्रत्यापत्तिं शारित् । नैनदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य प्रयोजनम् etc , or on the Vārttika to I 1, 86 आदिभुवोरीदप्रतिषेधे, he observes (p 633, ed Ballantyne) आदिभुवोरीदप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य । अतः । अभूत् । अस्ति भूभ्रमणन ग्रहणादीद् प्राप्नोति । आहस्तावन्न वक्तव्य । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति । नादेरीद भवतानि । यदयमाहस्य इति (VII 2, 35) शलादिप्रवरणे भवत् क्षान्ति । नेतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । भूतपूर्वगतिर्वेधा विनायेन सलादियौ भूतपूर्व इति । यथैव यवचनमनर्थक स्यात् etc , and the like in other instances

136 Patañjali e g in his gloss on the Vārttikas to I 1 3 (ed Ballantyne, p 348) यदप्युच्यते जनेर्हवचनम् (III 2, 97) ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्यो भवति । न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति, on the last words of the third Kārikā to VII 2, 102 एवं तर्काचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सर्वेषां त्वदादीनामस्य भवतीति । यद्व किम् क इति (VII 2, 103) कादेश शारित् । इतरथा हि किमोऽङ्गवतीत्येव भूवात् । सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्यो भवति । न च किमोऽत्वेन सिध्यति ।

137 A *Paribhāṣā* is, on account of this relation, also called *ज्ञाय* in his comment, for instance, to I 4, 14, Patañjali says अन्तप्रहण किमर्थम् । न भुविष्पदमित्येवोच्यते केनेदानीं तदन्ताना सन्धिष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत्र उत्तर पठति ।

that it nowise differs from the relation which exists between rules instanced before and ordinary rules indicated by these *Jñāpakas*. In the same manner as there are *Jñāpaka* rules which indicate the purpose of other rules, there are *Jñāpaka*-rules which indicate the purpose of *Paribhāshās*, and all the *Paribhāshās* given by Pāṇini himself, therefore, precede their *Jñāpaka* rules. If, then, as we learn from Kātyāyana and Patañjali, there existed *Paribhāshās* which are not contained in Pāṇini's grammar, but which nevertheless are indicated by *Jñāpakas*, which are Sūtras of Pāṇini, such *Paribhāshās* must, at least in Patañjali's opinion, have existed before Pāṇini's work, for otherwise the definition given by the *Mahābhāṣya* of the term *Jñāpaka* would become inconsistent with itself. And since *Paribhāshās* or principles of interpretation cannot be conceived without matter to be interpreted according to them, such *Paribhāshās* must not only have preceded Pāṇini, but they must have been taught in one or more other grammatical works, and Vaidyanātha, therefore, as I suggested above, cannot be correct in basing his distinction between *Nyāya* and *Jñāpaka* on the circumstance that the latter refers to Pāṇini exclusively, while the former applies also to other works. In all probability the difference is this that *Jñāpaka* is used especially of grammatical rules, while *Nyāya* is a synonyme of *Paribhāshā*, but applies to writings which are not grammatical.

In now summing up the result we have obtained from the previous investigation, so far as it bears on our immediate problem, we find that the oldest author on record who wrote on Pāṇini was Kātyāyana, and that he was not merely the author of the *Vārtikas*, properly so called, but also of a certain number of *Kārikās*, which, in reality, however, are nothing else than an assemblage of single *Vārtikas*, forming, combined, a stanza or a verse. We have seen, too, that *Vārtikas*, which form

—*Vārtika* पदसंज्ञायामन्वचनमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधायम् —
Patañjali पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं कियते शापकार्यम् (Kielhorn) । किं शाप्यम्
एतद्भाष्यत्वाच्चायं अथ संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति etc. Compare
note 126

an essential part of the Mahābhāṣya itself, are of Patañjali's authorship

What, then, is the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, and of Patañjali to Pāṇini and to Kātyāyana? Is it that of commentators, or is it to be defined otherwise?

Professor Muller confers upon Kātyāyana the title of "editor" of Pāṇini, and says that "the Great commentary of Patañjali embraces both the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Sūtras of Pāṇini"¹³⁸ Professor Weber, on the contrary—who, even in some of his latest writings, candidly confesses that he has never read the Mahābhāṣya, but nevertheless, or perhaps for this reason, abounds in conjectures on this work, which not only is in existence but within reach,—goes so far as to throw doubt on the genuineness of those Sūtras which are not explained, *because they are not explained in the Great Commentary*¹³⁹ I fear that neither scholar will find adherents for his opinion amongst the pupils of Patañjali and Kātyāyana. The mutual relation of these latter grammarians and their relation to Pāṇini is, indeed, implied by the word *Vārttika*

138 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp 363 and 243

139 For instance, in the *Indische Studien*, vol IV, p 78 "Die Plāxās kommen in dem Schol zu Pāṇini (IV 1, 95, 2, 112) vor (ob aus dem Mahābhāṣya?)," or in a note to the same vol p 168, when referring to the Sūtra VI 2, 142 of Pāṇini, he observes "Allerdings *bhāṣya tu na vyākhyātam*, also unsicher, ob ihm gebörend" ["Also"—, on what basis does this conclusion rest? "Unsicher"—, for whom?] The same confession and the same conjecture occur, indeed, so often in Professor Weber's multifarious writings, that it becomes a matter of psychological curiosity to see how an author, apparently much concerned about a certain subject, instead of acquiring the necessary information—which in the present case could not have caused any great difficulty,—or of consulting at least some one who might have allayed his disquietude, constantly displays before the public his feelings and theories, whereas, by dint of a stereotyped repetition of the same words, he must convey to a confiding reader the impression that there may be some foundation, at least, for his would be critical surmise

"The characteristic feature of a Vārttika," says Nāgojibhatta, "is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sūtra"¹⁴⁰ A Vārttika of Kātyāyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write Vārttikas on Pāṇini, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them, and who ever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content. He will even have to admit that Kātyāyana has frequently failed in justice to Pāṇini, by twisting the words of the Sūtras into a sense which they need not have, or by upbraiding Pāṇini with failings he was not guilty of. On this score he is not unfrequently rebuked by Patañjali, who on such occasions severely rates him for his ungenerous treatment of Pāṇini, and, as we have seen in an instance above (p 52), proves to him that he himself is wanting in proficiency, not Pāṇini. Kātyāyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist. In consequence, his remarks are attached to those Sūtras alone which are open to the censure of abstruseness or ambiguity, and the contents of which were liable to being completed or modified. he is silent on those which do not admit of criticism or rebuke.

The position of Patañjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with, instead of one,—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he has to write comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian, and thus the Mahābhāṣya became

140 Nāgojibhatta on Kaiyaṣa to the first Vārttika (of the Calc. ed.) of I 1, 1 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 213) वाचिवमिति । सूत्र-नुष्ठुङ्क-चिन्तावत्स्व वाचिवत्वम् ।

not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, *on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana*, while its *Ishṭis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his own remarks

I have already mentioned that Patañjali often refutes the strictures of Kātyāyana and takes the part of Pāṇini, I may now add that, in my opinion, and as a few instances hereafter will show, he sometimes overdoes his defence of Pāṇini, and becomes unjust to Kātyāyana. It is easy, however, to understand the cause of this tendency in Patañjali. The spirit of independent thought, combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian — to whom, as far as my knowledge goes, only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, I mean the Mīmāṃsā philosopher, Kumārila — could not allow him to become a mere paraphraser of another's words. An author like Patañjali can only comment on the condition that, in doing so, he develops his own mind, be it as adherent or as antagonist. And since Kātyāyana had left but little chance for a successor to discover many more blemishes in the Grammar of Pāṇini than he had pointed out, an active and critical mind like that of Patañjali would find more scope and more satisfaction in contending with Kātyāyana than in completing Pāṇini, and thus I hold, we may explain his proneness to weaken even those censures of Kātyāyana which we should see reason to approve, did we not discover in favour of Pāṇini arguments which will appear hereafter, but which were foreign to Patañjali.

As little, therefore, as it entered into the purpose of Kātyāyana to advert to every Sūtra of Pāṇini, did it come within the aim of Patañjali to write a commentary on Pāṇini, and, according to the requirements of such a commentary, to explain every rule of this grammarian. His object being, like that of Kātyāyana, merely a critical one, Patañjali comments upon the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pāṇini or on Kātyāyana, and, in consequence, no Vārttika could be left unnoticed by him.

Again, independently of Kātyāyana, he writes his own Vārttikas to Sūtras not sufficiently or not at all *animadverted* upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz., on Pāṇini. And, like Kātyāyana, therefore, he passes over altogether all those Sūtras which are unexceptionable to his mind. It is obvious, therefore, that no doubt whatever concerning the genuineness of a Sūtra of Pāṇini can be justified on the ground alone that it has no Bhāṣya of Patañjali, and the unsoundness of such a doubt becomes still more obvious when we consider that a great many Sūtras of Pāṇini, which have no Vārttikas and no Bhāṣya of Patañjali, nevertheless make their appearance as quotations and as part of Patañjali's argument in his Commentary on other Sūtras criticised by Kātyāyana.

Now, if we take a summary view of the labours of Kātyāyana, we find that of the 3993 or 3992 Sūtras of Pāṇini, more than 1500 offered him the opportunity of showing his superior skill, that his criticisms called forth more than 4000 Vārttikas, which, at the lowest estimate, contain 10,000 special cases comprised in his remarks.

Having arrived at this point, let us ask — How could India resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes? Suppose that there existed in our days a work of 4000 paragraphs, every second or third of which not merely called for an emendation, an addition, and corrections, in formal respects, but which, on the whole, compelled us to draw the conclusion that there were twice and a half times as many blunders in it as it contained matter to be relied upon,— is it possible to assume that such a work could create a reputation for its author except one which no sensible man would be desirous of? If we assumed such a possibility, it could only be on the supposition that such an author originated the subject he brought before the public, and, as an inventor, had a special claim to indulgence and fame, or, on the supposition of public ignorance and individual immorality.

But there is evidence to show that Pāṇini was not the first Hindu grammarian who wrote, nor even the inventor of the

technical system which has caused so much uneasiness to would-be philologists. It is certain, too, that grammar was not, in ancient India, the esoteric study of the few, and there is no proof of any kind that Pāṇini had influenced or hired a number of scribes to puff his Grammar and his fame. We must needs, therefore, resort to another explanation, if we want to reconcile the fact of the Vārtikas with the fact of Pāṇini's reputation, which was so great that supernatural agency was considered as having assisted him in his work.

This explanation, I hold, can only be derived from the circumstance that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana belonged to different periods of Hindu antiquity,—periods separated by such a pace of time as was sufficient to allow—

- 1 *Grammatical forms which were current in the time of Pāṇini to become obsolete or even incorrect,*
- 2 *Words to assume meanings which they did not possess at the period when he lived*
- 3 *Words and meanings of words used by him to become antiquated and*
- 4 *A literature unknown to him to arise*

It is on this supposition alone that it seems possible to realise Pāṇini's influence and celebrity, of course, on the supposition, too, that in his time he gave so accurate, so complete, and so learned a record of the language he spoke, that his contemporaries, and the next ages which succeeded him, could look with admiration on the rules he uttered, as if they were founded on revelations from above. If he had bungled along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Kātyāyana, — not he, but the author of the Vārtikas, would have been the inspired Rshi and the reputed father of the Vyākaraṇa. It is not necessary to exaggerate this view by assuming that Pāṇini was an infallible author, who committed no mistakes, omitted no linguistic fact, and gave complete perfection to a system already in use. We need take no other view of the causes of his great success than we should take of those which produce the fame of a living man. His work may or may

not have been looked upon by his contemporaries as having attained the summit of excellency, but, at all events, it must have ascended far beyond mediocrity. At its own period it cannot have failed so signally, and in so many respects, as it would have done if Pāṇini and Kātyāyana had been contemporaries.

In order fully to substantiate this view, I should have to submit a considerable portion of Pāṇini's Grammar and the Vārtikas connected with it, to an investigation which would exceed by far the limits prescribed by the present inquiry, and such an investigation might, moreover, appear to be superfluous on the present occasion, since I shall adduce hereafter argument of another kind, which will add materially to the force of these deductions. Yet the importance of this question is so great that I will indicate, at least by a few instances, the direction in which, I believe, the facts may be found that lead to the conclusions named.

1. Pāṇini says (I 2, 6) that the radical *indh* is *kit* in *lit*, which words mean that, according to rule VI 4, 24, the preterite of *indh* is *idhe*. This radical he treats together with *bhū*, and he does not observe — as he always does if such be the case — that his rule concerns the Vaidika use of the preterite of *indh*. Yet Kātyāyana corrects the injunction of the Sūtra by adding this restriction, and, for reasons connected with the latter, goes so far as to declare this Sūtra of Pāṇini to be superfluous.¹⁴¹

In rule VII 1, 25, Pāṇini states that the *sarva-nāmāṇi* (which word is usually but inaccurately rendered "pronouns") which are formed with the affixes *datara*, and *datama* — moreover, *itara*, *anya* and *anyatara* (Gana to I 1, 27) form their neuters not in *m*, but in *d*, = *g* *katarad*, *katamad*, *anyad*, etc., but he

141 I 2, 6 इन्धिमवतिम्यात् — Vārtika इधेददन्दोविपदत्वाद्भुवो भुवो नित्यत्वात्ताभ्या विदचनानर्थक्यम् — Bhāṣya इधेददन्दोविपदो लिट् । न ह्यन्तरेण पृथग् इधेरनन्तरो लिट् लभ्य । आमा मायाया मविनव्यम् । भुवो भुवो नित्यत्वाद् दतेरपि नित्यो भुवुरुते भुगे प्राप्नोति । अहनेऽपि प्राप्नोति । ताभ्या विदचनानर्थक्यम् । ताभ्यामिधिमवतिम्या विदचनमनर्थकम् । (The Calcutta editors have on this occasion mistaken Kātyāyana's Vārtika for Patañjali's Bhāṣya.)

says in a following special rule, that, in the Veda, *itara* has *itaram* for its neuter. It is obvious, therefore, that he intended to exhaust his subject by these rules, yet Kātyāyana has to state that "*ekatara* forms *ekataram* in the Veda as in the language of common life" 142

The letters *k, t, t, p*, at the end of a Pada, says Pāṇini (VIII 4, 45) may become *g, d, d, b*, before a following nasal, or be changed into the nasal of their class. Kātyāyana adds "If, however, the following nasal is part of an affix, these letters must always become the nasal of their class, in the language of common life" 143

Now I have chosen these instances from the sphere of conjugation, declension, and phonetic laws, simply because they at once suggest the question whether Pāṇini knew as much grammar as we should fairly expect from a beginner, who had studied Sanskrit for a few months. Is it probable or not, that he was proficient enough to form the preterite of the common radical *indh* "to kindle," the nominative of the neuter of *ekatara*, "one of two,"—a word which, moreover, is the subject of one of his special rules (V 3, 94)? and was he really so ignorant as not to be able to combine *īḥ* or *īḥ*, with the common affix *ma* into *īngma* or *īangma*, though a phonetic influence of the affix *ma* on the base *hira* is adverted to in his rule VI 4, 174? Or is it more plausible to assume that *idhe* and *ekatarad* were forms current in his time, though no longer current and correct when Kātyāyana wrote, and that when Pāṇini lived, *īgma* or *īagma* were as legitimate as *īngma* or *īangma*? That Kātyāyana's stricture may be as much open to censure as the rule of Pāṇini, unless we, in fairness, gave it the benefit of a similar argument, is proved by the words *kakudmat kakudmin* and *garutmat* which "in the (classical) language of common life" are quite

142 VII 1, 26 नेतराच्छन्दसि — Vārttika इतराच्छन्दसि प्रतिषेध एतद्वत्सर्वत्र

143 VIII 4, 45 यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा — Vārttika यरोऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषाया नित्यवचनम् — Bhāṣya यरोऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषाया नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । वाच्यं त्वच्छब्दम् ।

correct, but would have been incorrect according to the Vārttika, if they had been used in such language at the time when it was composed ¹⁴⁴

2 Pāṇini says (VI 1, 150), "the bird (*nominative*) may be *viṣhkira* or *vikira* (either of which means any eatable bird but a cock) This rule is thus modified by Kātyāyana "the form may be *viṣhkira* or *vikira* if the sense of the word is 'bird'" (*locative*) Patañjali, it is true, sides with Pāṇini. The Vārttika, he says, is irrelevant, since it teaches that either form *viṣhkira* or *vikira*, is correct, if the word means "bird," but that *viṣhkira* would be the only legitimate form, if the word has any other sense. Pāṇini, however, he adds, did not mean to affect the sense "bird" by his optional "or," but the irregular form of the derivative ¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, it appears to me that both grammarians are right, and that Patañjali's decision is open to doubt. Whenever Pāṇini binds the application of a rule to the condition of a special sense, he expresses the latter by a word either in the locative or nominative. If he gives the meaning of the word in the locative it does not necessarily follow, though it usually happens to be the case, that such a word has other meanings, too, which are then excluded from the influence of the rule, but if he expresses the sense of the word in the nominative, he seems always to indicate that the word has this sense, and this sense only,—that both sense and word, being expressed in the same case, are, as it were, congruous ¹⁴⁶ His present rule would therefore

144 It is not permitted to adduce also वाग्मिन्, for this word ought to be written—as, for instance, the commentators of the Amarakośha do write it—वाग्मिन्, since its affix is not गिन्, but ग्मिन्, according to Pāṇini, V 2, 124 वाचो ग्मिनि । That in ग्मिनि the letter ग् is not an *anubandha*, results from I 3, 8

145 VI 1, 150 विधिर शकुनिर्विक्रितो वा—Vārttika विधिर शकुनौ विक्रितौ वेति वक्तव्यम्—Bhasya शकुनौ वेत्युच्यमाने शकुनौ वा (वा) र्वा द्वयवापि नित्यम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । न वावचनेन शकुनिरभिसम्बध्यते किं नहि निपातनमभिसम्बध्यते विधिर इत्येवनिपातन शकुनौ वा निपात्यत इति ।

146 Compare e.g. III 3, 80 81 87, V 2, 15, VI 1, 149 (the meanings 2 and 3 of जपस्त्र, in my Dictionary, are of later origin), VI 1, 154 156, etc.

imply that each form, *viśhkira* or *vikira*, has no other sense than that of "bird", but Kātyāyana's corrections would mean that both forms are optional in the sense of "bird," while in any other sense both forms represent separate words. This fact is borne out by the meanings given in Wilson's Dictionary under each form.

The word *āscharya* is rendered by Pāṇini *anitya* (VI 1, 147), i.e. "not permanent, rare." Kātyāyana corrects this meaning, in substituting for it *adbhuta*, i.e. "that which has not existed before, miraculous, wonderful." On this occasion, too, Patañjali defends Pāṇini, by observing that this remark might have been spared, for the sense, "wonderful, miraculous," is implied by the sense "rare," and he gives instances to confirm this view, viz., "the height of (this) tree is something 'rare' (or wonderful), the blueness of the sky is something 'rare' (or wonderful)," but I very much doubt whether logicians will assent to this view of Patañjali, for, though all that is wonderful is rare, not all that is rare need be wonderful. And he himself seems to break down under his third instance, which runs thus "That the stars which are not fastened in the atmosphere do not fall down, is"—surely not rare but wonderful.¹⁴⁷ In other terms, the meaning of *āscharya*, given by Pāṇini, seems to have been only "rare," and if so, it preceded that which became more usual at a later time, and is mentioned by Kātyāyana.

Another and, perhaps, more striking instance is afforded by the Sūtra (VII 3, 69) where Pāṇini renders the word *bhojya* by *bhakshya*, for Kātyāyana corrects him in saying

147 VI 1, 147 आश्चर्यमनित्ये — Vārttika (misdated in the Calcutta ed) आश्चर्यमकृत इति वक्तव्यम् ।—Bhāṣya इहापि यथा स्वात् । आश्चर्यमुच्यते वृक्षस्य । आश्चर्यं नाला च । आश्चर्यमनतिक्षेप्यनानि नक्षत्राणि न पतन्तीति । ततर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अनित्य इत्येव मिदम् । इह तावदाश्चर्यमुच्यते वृक्षस्येति । आश्चर्यग्रहणेन न वृक्षोऽभिसम्बध्यते किं तर्ह्युच्यते सा चानित्या । आश्चर्यं नाला चौरिति नाश्चर्यग्रहणेन चौरमिसम्बध्यते किं तर्हि नाला मा चानित्या । आश्चर्यमनतिक्षेप्यनानि नक्षत्राणि न पतन्तीति नाश्चर्यग्रहणेन नक्षत्राण्यभिसम्बध्यन्ते किं तर्हि पतनक्रिया सा चानित्या । तत्रानित्य इत्येव मिदम् ।

that he ought to have rendered *bhojya* by *abhyamahārya*. Now, if we consult the use of these words in the classical language, there can be no doubt that *bhojya* and *abhyamahārya* mean "what is fit for consumption," and apply to solid as well as to liquid substances, that, on the other hand, *bhakshya* means "what is fit to be eaten," and applies to solid food only. Is it likely, however, that Pāṇini should have blundered in the application of words which, it would seem, the most ignorant would employ? Patañjali, who, as I have already observed, is always disposed to stand by Pāṇini again takes up his defence, and observes, that Pāṇini's using the word *bhakshya* instead of *abhyamahārya* need not have been criticised by Kātyāyana, for there are expressions like *ab-bhaksha*, "one who eats water," or *āyu-bhaksha*, "one who eats air," which show that the radical *bhaksh* is used also in reference to other than solid food.¹⁴⁸ But both instances alleged by Patañjali are conventional terms, they imply a condition of fasting, and derive their citizenship amongst other classical words from a Vaidika expression, as Patañjali himself admits, when, in his introduction to Pāṇini, he speaks of *ekapadas*, or words, the sense of which can only be established from the context of a Vaidika passage to which they originally belong,¹⁴⁹ they do not show, therefore, that *bhaksh* is applied also to other phrases of the classical language, so as to refer to liquid food. It seems evident, therefore, that in Pāṇini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhakshya* must have been used as a convertible term for *bhojya*, while, at Kātyāyana's period, this rendering became incorrect, and required the substitution of another word.

148 VI 3, 59 भोज्य भक्ष्ये — Vārtika भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (where the nominative of अभ्यवहार्य implies an additional criticism against the locative of भक्ष्य see the foregoing remark, page 126) — Bhakshya इदमपि यथा स्वात् । भोज्य सूप । भोज्या यवागूरिति । किं पुन कारण न भिष्यति । भक्षिरय सरविशदे वर्तते तेन द्रवे न प्राप्नोति । नावश्य मक्षि सरविशदे वर्तते किं तर्ह्यन्यत्रापि वर्तते । तथा । अभ्यक्षो वायुभक्ष इति ।

149 For the quotation from Patañjali's preface to Pāṇini (ed Ballantyne, p. 46) see my Dictionary, s. v. अभ्यवहार्य ।

3 The words and the meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the scientific writers of the classical literature his expressions would not invite any special attention nor call forth any special remark This cannot be said of the language of Pāṇini In his Sūtras occur a great number of words and meanings of words, which — so far as my own knowledge goes — have become antiquated in the classical literature I will mention, for instance, *pratyavasāna*, eating (I 4 52, III 4 76), *upasamvāda*, making a bargain (III 4 8), *īshu*, in the sense of Veda, or Vaidika hymn (IV 4 96), *utsaḥjana*, throwing up (I 3 36), *vaya*, application, employment in (I 3 36), *upasambhāshū* taking over, reconciling (I 3 47), *svakarana*, appropriating, especially a wife, marrying (I 3 56), *sālinikarana*, humbling (I 3 70), *matī* desire (III 2 188), *abhresha*, propriety (III 3 37), *avakīrpit*, imagining (III 3 145), *abhyādāna* commencement (VIII 2 87) *hotrā*, in the sense of *rtvij*, priest (V 1 135), *upājekr* and *anvājekr*, to strengthen (I 4 73), *nivachanekr* to hold one's speech, to be silent (I 4 76), *kanehan* and *manohan* to fulfil one's longing (I 4 66), etc etc¹⁵⁰

4 To prove a negative, is, no doubt, the hardest of all problems There are circumstances, however, which may lessen the danger of drawing the conclusion that an author cannot have possessed such and such knowledge when he wrote If we take into account the evidence afforded by the author's character and work, the judgment passed on his writings by his countrymen, and the condition of the latter,—these elements put together into the scale of criticism will show whether the scale of the author's proficiency can spare, or not,

150 Some of these expressions, or others belonging to the same category, occur also in the Koshas, and in the artificial poetry, especially the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya This circumstance, however, does not disprove that they are obsolete in the real literature, since the Koshas have borrowed them from Pāṇini, whereas the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya is expressly written to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini, and the artificial poetry bases its chief merits on the strangeness of its style and words

a certain amount of weight without disturbing the balance required. That Pāṇini was an eminent writer, ■ not only manifest from his Grammar, but acknowledged by the common judgment of his countrymen, and the learning and civilisation of ancient India was such that we must admit the fullest competence in those who established his celebrity. But we know, too, that Pāṇini was a *Brāhmaṇic* writer. No amount of scholarship could have ensured to him the position he holds in the ancient literature if he had been a professor of the Buddhistic creed. In forming, then, an opinion on Pāṇini we must always bear in mind his learning and his religious faith, and the consequences which follow from both these premises.

After these preliminary remarks I will first advert to the Sūtra (IV 2 129) in which Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word *Āraṇyaka* and says that it means "a man who lives in a forest." That *Āraṇyaka* has this meaning is unquestionable. It means, too, if we consult the lexicographers, "a forest-elephant, a jackal, etc.", but above all it is the name of those theosophical works which are the precursors of the Upanishads and are held in the greatest awe by the Hindu authorities¹⁵¹. If a learned Hindu were asked the meaning of *Āraṇyaka* he would certainly first point to the sacred works which bear this name, and then refer to the meaning "forester," just as, I suppose, a European questioned on the sense of the word "Bible" would first say that it means "Testament", and then remember its etymological sense, "book." Yet Pāṇini merely speaks of *Āraṇyaka*, "the forester." No wonder that Kātyāyana supplies, in a Vārttika of his, the defect which must have struck him if, and since, he was acquainted with this portion of the sacred literature¹⁵². But is it possible to assume that Pāṇini

151 Manu, IV 123, for instance, applies the same injunction to the termination of a lecture of an *Āraṇyaka* as to that of a whole Veda.

सामध्वनावृत्त्यनुषी भाषीवान् कदाचन ।

वेदस्याधीत्य आप्यन्नमारण्यरुमधीत्य च ॥

152 Pāṇini, IV 2, 129 अरण्यमनुष्ये — Patañjali अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते मनुष्य इति । — Kātyāyana पथ्यच्याययाविहारमनुष्यहस्तिध्विति वक्तव्यम् । —

could have known this sense of the word *Āraṇyaka*, when he is altogether silent on it, and if he did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time ?

The acquaintance of Pāṇini with a Yajurveda is evidenced by several Sūtras of his ¹⁵³ But in speaking of a Yajurveda, he does not tell us whether he knew the *Black* as well as the *White* version, or only the *Black* version of it. That the former, which is considered as the literary property of the *Taittiri* school, is older in form and contents than the latter, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, requires no observation of mine, after the conclusive proofs which have been given by previous writers. To decide, however, whether Pāṇini had a knowledge of the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* or not,—in other words, whether both versions of this Veda are separated in time are not, by the Grammar of Pāṇini is a matter which touches closely on our present inquiry with regard to the chronological relation between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana

In mustering the facts which bear on the solution of this question, we shall have, first, to observe that the word *Vājasaneyin* does not occur in a Sūtra of, but only as a formation in a *Gana* to Pāṇini (IV 3 106), while the formation of *Taittiriya*, from the base *Taittiri*, is taught in a Sūtra (IV 3 102). There is, consequently, a *prima facie* doubt against Pāṇini's

Patañjali. आरण्यक पद्या । आरण्यकोऽध्याय । आरण्यको न्याय । आरण्यको विहार । आरण्यको मनुष्य । आरण्यको इरती ।—Kātyāyana वा गोमयेषु ।—Patañjali : वा गोमयेष्विति वक्तव्यम् । आरण्यका गोमया । आरण्या गोमया (Both Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, as if they did only occur in the *Siddhanta kaumudī*) : Professor Müller has pointed out that Pāṇini does not mention the principal meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, but expresses himself thus (page 339) “Whether Pāṇini knew the *Āraṇyakas* as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word ‘*āraṇyaka*,’ he only uses it in the sense of ‘living in the forest,’ and it is the author of the Vārttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the sense of ‘read in the forest.’”

153 For instance, by the Sūtras II 4, 4 (*adhvaryu*), VI 1 117, VII 4, 38, VIII 3, 104, etc

acquaintance with the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā¹⁵⁴ And this doubt is heightened by the circumstance that the sacred personage, also, who is believed to have collected not only the Saṁhitā, but the Brāhmana of the White Yajurveda, *Yājñavalkya* is also not mentioned in the Sūtras of, but merely in the *Ganas* to Pāṇini¹⁵⁵

Since the question, however, whether Pāṇini knew the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā, coincides with the question whether he had a knowledge of the Śatapatha-Brāhmana, I will first quote a passage from Professor Muller's work, which, in a correct and lucid manner, describes the relation of Yājñavalkya to both these works — "A comparison," he says (p 353), "of the texts of the Taittirīyas and Vājasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake to call Yājñavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmana. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yājñavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brāhmanas into their present form, and, considering the differences between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charanas of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Kātyāyana says, in his Anukramanī, that Yājñavalkya received the Yajur veda from the Sun. In the same sense, the Śatapatha-brāhmana ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya."

154 Professor Weber has already drawn attention to the fact that in the *Ganas* to Pāṇini only the first word may safely be ascribed to the knowledge of Pāṇini, since it is mentioned by himself, and I may add, those words of a *Gana*, too, which are impliedly referred to by him; for instance, इतर, इतम, इतर, अ य, अन्वतर, of the *Gana* to I 1, 27, adverted to in the Sūtra VII 1, 28, which otherwise would be unintelligible. See also note 88. With these exceptions, we have no real certainty of deciding whether the words of a *Gana* were those which Pāṇini had in view when he wrote, for not only are there considerable differences in the readings of the *Gana* collections in existence, but it is certain that these lists have been subject, at various periods, to various interpolations, which materially lessen their critical worth.

155 In the *Śaṅkai* to IV. 1, 108 and 2, III

If, then, we turn our attention to the word *Śatapatha*, we have again to state that it occurs only in a *Gana* to V 3, 100 (compare also note 105), but is not mentioned authentically in any *Sūtra* of Pāṇini. Yet Kātyāyana, I hold, has helped us to untie this knot, which has been drawn still tighter than it was by Professors Muller and Weber, in spite of the excellent counsel which the latter gives, "not to increase, by inattention the darkness, which is great enough already in the history of Sanskrit literature" ¹⁵⁶

A rule of Pāṇini's, which, literally translated, runs thus, 'amongst the *Brāhmanas* and *Kalpas* which have been proclaimed by an *Old one* (or by the *Old*)' ¹⁵⁷ teaches, in its correction with preceding rules, that names of *Brāhmanas* and *Kalpas* are formed by adding the (technical) affix *nini* (i.e. the real affix *in* with *Vrddhi* in the base), to the proper name of the personage who proclaimed them, provided that such a personage ■ an *old* authority Kaiyyata gives as an instance of a *Brāhmaṇa* so formed, the word *Śātyāyanin* derived from *Śātyāyana* the saint who proclaimed this *Brāhmaṇa*, and other instances are mentioned by Patañjali in his comment on a previous *Sūtra*. To this rule Kātyāyana added a *Vārttika*, which, according to the text in the Calcutta edition, would mean literally *In reference to Yājñavalkya and so on (there is) an exception, on account of the contemporaneity* ¹⁵⁸ and the comment on this additional rule is afforded by Patañjali in the instance he gives *Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni* where the *Brāhmaṇa* referred to the authorship of Yājñavalkya, is not formed by means of the (technical) affix *nini*, but by the (technical) affix *an* (i.e. *a*, with *Vrddhi* in the base)

¹⁵⁶ Indische Studien, vol I, p 483 "We have already darkness enough in the history of Hindu literature, let us abstain at least from increasing it through our own inattention."

¹⁵⁷ IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु, which words are completed by the *Sūtras* IV 3, 101 and 103

¹⁵⁸ *Vārttika* of the Calcutta edition to IV 3, 105 * दारवल्फ्यादिभ्यः प्रविषत्तुल्यराज्ज्वात् ।

The great importance of this additional rule of Kātyāyana is obvious. It has been made the subject of several remarks in the "Indische Studien," where Professor Weber writes (vol. 1 p. 57, note) — "By the Yājñavalkya-brāhmanāni [*Yājñavalkyāni*, as the "Indische Studien" writes it, is probably an error of the press] there [*i.e.* in the commentary of the Calcutta edition to IV 3, 105], and also in the Vārttika, and in IV 2 66, there can probably be meant none but the Śatapatha brāhmaṇa, either the whole of it, or from XI to XIV, which, therefore, Patañjali even did not consider as *Purāṇa-prokṭam* [*i.e.* proclaimed by an old authority]" Again (vol. 1 p. 146), "A matter of importance is the distinct separation of Brāhmaṇas composed by the *Old* (*purāṇa*) IV 3 105, by which [expression], in contradistinction, the existence also of such as belong to a more recent time (*śulbākālāni*, says the Vārttika) is necessarily implied, amongst the latter, recent ones, the Yājñavalkya [the repeated error of the press, *Yājñavalkyāni*, becomes suspicious] (comp p. 57, note), and the *Saulabhāni* (otherwise unknown) Brāhmaṇāni are mentioned in the Vārttika, amongst the old ones, the scholiast there, (is it on Patañjali's authority ?¹⁵⁹) names the Bhāllavīnaḥ and the Śāṅgāyanaḥ " And (vol. 1 p. 177, note) — "Now we have seen (pp. 57 note, and 146) that the Yājñavalkya-brāhmanāni ["*Yājñavalkyāni*" again, which now becomes very suspicious], are considered by the author of the Vārttikas as *contemporaneous* with Pāṇini. The question, therefore, is whether by it [*i.e.* the Yājñavalkya-brāhmanāni]

159 For this query of Professor Weber, compare note 139. But I cannot help asking how he reconciles the statement of the note to Vol. I p. 57, just quoted, where he speaks of Patañjali in terms of that assurance which can only proceed from personal knowledge, — with his repeated avowal of not having read the *Mahābhāṣya*, and with the text itself of p. 57 to which this note refers, since he is doubtful even there whether the Calcutta editors have taken their instances to IV 3, 105 from Patañjali or not? As a guess, his attributing the words *याज्ञवल्क्येनाब्रह्मण्येना* to Patañjali happens to be quite correct, but it would have been certainly much better to give it distinctly as such, than leave us doubtful now as to the nature of other statements of his

we have really to understand the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa itself, or in general, Brāhmaṇas only, which were *composed* by Yājñavalkya, or such as merely *treated* of him. In the former case, it would follow, too, from his proved contemporaneity with Uddālaka, and from Uddālaka's preceding Pāṇdu, that the epoch of Pāṇdu is later than that of Pāṇini. But (vol II p 393) he observes "By the Yājñavalkān-brāhmaṇāni¹⁶⁰ we, probably, have not to understand those [Brāhmaṇas] which have been *composed* by Yājñavalkya himself, but those which merely *treated* of him, and a specimen of these is preserved in the Yājñavalkīyam kāṇḍam of the Vṛhadāranyaka (see my Akad Vorles p 155-26), therefore, if this [my] second view is correct the contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka with Pāṇini, which is the necessary consequence of my first view, would fall to the ground, together with Pāṇini's preceding Pāṇdu, whose priority in time is again the consequence of such a contemporaneity"¹⁶¹

160 Professor Weber again writes "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*" Being compelled, therefore, to abandon the hypothesis of an error of the press, the more so as the same "*Yājñavalkyaṇi brāhmaṇāni*" make their reappearance, in their alphabetical place, in his Index to the first two volumes of the "Indische Studien"—I must refer him for the correct form "*Yājñavalkāṇi*" to Pāṇini VI 4, 151—It is needless for me to say that the "editor" of Pāṇini likewise writes याज्ञवल्क्यानि IV 2, 66 and 2, 105, intending probably to improve on the Calcutta edition, which IV 3, 105 writes वासवल्क्यानि, but IV 2, 66 याज्ञवल्क्यानि *Habent sua fata libelli*!

161 The self-quotation of Professor Weber (Akad Vorles p 125, 126) need not be repeated here, since it merely contains the same conjecture that the *Yājñavalkāṇi* (correctly written in the Akad Vorles, but re quoted from this work "*Yājñavalkāṇi*" in the Ind Stud vol II p 390) *brāhmaṇāni* are the same as the *Yājñavalkīyam-kāṇḍam* which treats of Yājñavalkya.—The text of the quotations given above, it is superfluous for me to mention, is in German. To save space I have confined myself to communicating merely a translation of it which, I trust, no one will find wanting in strictest fairness and literal accuracy. The words between brackets, marked [] are my own parenthetical explanations, as the reader will easily see for himself. The italics in the quotation are Professor Weber's own

There is nothing novel or remarkable in the circumstance of Professor Weber's recanting on one page what he maintained with the most specious arguments on another, or of his leaving the bewildered reader between a chaos of what are to him established facts, but however interesting it may be thus to obtain from him an autobiography of his mind, and an insight into the state of maturity in which he presents us with his researches, I must, this time, defend him against himself, and show that, *within the sphere of his own presumptive facts*, there is not the slightest ground for immolating by his last conjecture the statements contained in the first three quotations from his essays

The exception made by Kātyāyana to the rule of Pāṇini (IV 3,105) is contained in the word *Yājñavalkya*, as we learn from the authentic comment of Patañjali. There is no proof, whatever, that it can extend to any other derivative of *Yājñavalkya*. Whatever, therefore, be the import of the word *Yājñavalkya*, the *Yājñavalkyam kāṇḍam* has nothing to do with the *Yājñavalkyāni brāhmaṇāni* mentioned by Patañjali in reference to our Vārttika. But in the second instance, the word *pratishedha* or "exception," used by Kātyāyana necessarily concerns works of the *same category*. As little as an author could, for instance, call geology an exception to astronomy, as little, I hold, could Kātyāyana speak of an "exception" to names of Brāhmaṇas when he had in his mind, as Professor Weber thinks, the name of a particular chapter of an Āraṇyaka. And thirdly, this same word 'exception' in the Vārttika must likewise concern the *proclaiming* of such a work by the personage who becomes the base of the derivative, for Pāṇini uses the word *prokta* "proclaimed," distinctly enough in the Sūtra which is criticised by the Vārttika. There would be no "exception," if the formation alluded to by Kātyāyana, meant a work *treating of* the personage who is the base of the derivative. But, when Professor Weber, in his "Akademische Vorlesungen" (pp 125, 126) crowns his syllogism by the remark that he prefers his last conjecture because it "appears, indeed, extremely ticklish (bedenklich)" to him "to consider the whole Śatapatha brāhmaṇa or as much as its last books, as bearing distinctly the name of Yājña

valkya—however much it may contain his system [?]—or as contemporaneous with, or as preceding even by little, Pāṇini's time," and when he adds, in the fulness of his authority, "but for the Yājñavalkyam kāṇḍam I have not the slightest hesitation in doing the latter" [*Letzteres zu thun*—what latter ?], I fear I should overstep the limits of scientific criticism, if I attached a single remark to a passage like this, which treats its readers as if the personal feelings of Professor Weber had all the weight of scientific arguments, and deals with one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature in such a manner as if it were a matter for table talk.

Before I proceed in my observation on the point at issue, I will state the views of Professor Muller on this Vārttika. He writes (p 353) ' In the same sense Pāṇini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to IV 3, 105, that there were modern Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmanas,' and (p 363) "It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājñavalkyās in the same sense as we speak of the Taittirīyas, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmanas, are called Yājñavalkyānī [sic] Brāhmaṇānī 'And why ?' says Kātyāyana, 'because they are of too recent an origin, that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves' "

Where, I must now ask, does Kātyāyana speak of Brāhmanas 'more ancient' than the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya? and where, I must further ask, does he say that the latter are almost contemporaneous? Again, what proof has Professor Weber that Kātyāyana meant by contemporaneous, as he says (see above, p 134), *contemporaneous with Pāṇini*? and what proof has Professor Muller that Kātyāyana implied by this word *contemporaneous with himself*? Assuredly, all these questions ought to have been settled first, and by very substantial proofs, before an edifice of chronology was allowed to be built on them. Not only does Kātyāyana nowhere indicate a degree, either in the relative age of the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and those subject to the Sūtra of Pāṇini, or in the contemporaneousness of

the former with him,—but, in my opinion, the word *pratishedha* ‘exception’ already adverted to, is altogether fatal to the ellipsis supplied by Professors Weber and Muller when they refer to the word *contemporaneous*. This word ‘exception’ clearly proves that Kātyāyana could never have held the dialogue with which Muller enlivens the scene of the Vārttika. For if the Brāhmanas spoken of in the Vārttika, were contemporaneous with Pāṇini or with Kātyāyana, the Vārttika would have made an *addition*, not an *exception* to the rule of Pāṇini, since the latter merely treats of such Brāhmanas as are *old* from his point of view, and is no wise concerned with any Brāhmanas of *his* time.

In short, the Vārttika can, on account of the word *exception*, convey no other sense than that Pāṇini himself was guilty of an *inaccuracy*, by *omitting* to state that the Brāhmanas which had been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya (and others) were exempt from his Sūtra IV 3, 105, *these Brāhmanas being as those which he had in view when he gave this rule*.

Did the words of the Vārttika, such as they are printed in the Calcutta edition, admit of the slightest doubt — if interpreted properly,—or had the inferences drawn from them been propounded with less consequence, and did not the discussion I have raised concern a principle, viz the method of examining the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, the course I should have taken, in refuting the opinion of Professors Weber and Muller would have been a different one. I should have at once stated the fact, that the inadvertence of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini — (need I repeat that Dr Boehtlingk’s reprint is as conscientious in this case as in all analogous instances ?) — has skipped *two words* which belong to the Vārttika, — words, which, indeed, are not absolutely required for a correct understanding of the Vārttika, but the presence of which would have prevented as much as the possibility of a misconception, however inattentive the reader of the Vārttika might be. These words are no other than the words of Pāṇini’s Sūtra itself, which Kātyāyana, no doubt with the distinct purpose of obviating the very possibility of a misunderstanding, has embodied

again in his Vārttika in placing them before his own critical remark. In short, the Vārttika runs thus "Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas, which are proclaimed by an *old* one (or by the *old*), there is an exception in reference to Yājñavalkya, on account of the contemporaneousness," viz., *of these latter Brāhmanas with the old Brāhmanas spoken of by Pāṇini*. In this sense, then, Patañjali remarks, after having named the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and Sulabha, "Why (is there an exception to these ?) 'On account of the contemporaneousness,' that is to say, because they, *too*, are of the same time," and Kaiyyata adds 'because they belong to the same time as the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Śātyāyana and so on' ¹⁶²

The ground on which we now stand is once more the ground we have occupied before. And when I previously asked whether it is likely that Pāṇini could have blundered in conjugating or declining a common word, or whether he was not proficient enough to use the expression "eatable," or whether he could have ignored the meaning of Āranyaka, — I must now add the question whether he was likely to give a rule which, by an essential omission, would have vitiated the name of a

162 Pāṇini, IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणरूपेषु — Kātyāyana पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणरूपेषु याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्य प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् । — Patañjali पुराणप्रोक्तवित्त्वय याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि । सौलभ्यानाति । किं कारणम् । तुल्यकालत्वात् । एतान्दरि तुल्यकालत्वाति — Kaiyyata तुल्यकालत्वादिनि । शाखायनादिप्रोक्तब्राह्मणैरेककालत्वादित्यर्थं For the sake of greater clearness, and in order to anticipate any objection, I will mention, that the Sūtra of Pāṇini itself precedes the words of the Vārttika in the MS II I H 330, whence this passage is quoted, so that there can be no assumption of a meaningless repetition of the words पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणरूपेषु । Moreover, the beginning of Patañjali's commentary on the Vārttika, and his method of commenting as explained above, is sufficient to remove all doubt—if any still existed—that they belong to the Vārttika — Professor Benfey, too is therefore mistaken, when, in his learned and valuable "Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache" (§ 518) he says, "it has been explicitly stated [viz by our Vārttika] that Yājñavalkya and some others do not belong to the *old*."

principal Brāhmana ? Could he have ignored that name which stands foremost amongst all the authors of Brāhmanas ? So much so, that we have heard only by name of the Brāhmanas of Bhallu, Śātyāyana, and Sulabha, but are full of the Śatapathabrāhmana, proclaimed by Yājñavalkya ?

In my belief there is but this alternative either Patañjali, who mentions the Bhāllavins, together with other Brāhmanas, in his comment on the Vārttika 26 to IV 2, 104, is correct in saying that the Brāhmana of Yājñavalkya is coeval with them, in this case all these Brāhmanas must have been unknown to Pānini, and other Brāhmanas must have been before his mind's eye, when he wrote the Sūtra IV 3, 105, or Pānini *did* know and *meant* to imply in his rule the Brāhmana of Bhallu, and of others named by Patañjali, — then the error must be on Patañjali's side, when he asserts that Yājñavalkya was their contemporary I say purposely, it must be an error of Patañjali, for there is no evidence to show that Kātyāyana alluded to Bhallu, for instance, when he speaks of contemporaries of Yājñavalkya, he may have referred, for aught we know, to proper names belonging to other old authorities — old from Pānini's point of view, and his error would then have consisted in making Yājñavalkya the contemporary of the personages who were the authors of those old works

Yet both — the error of Patañjali and the error of Kātyāyana — become explainable on the assumption that there is such a considerable period of time between Pānini and Kātyāyana, and much more so between Pānini and Patañjali that Kātyāyana even could consider as "old" that which was not only not old, but in all probability did not yet exist in Pānini's time

It is curious, though I lay no stress on this circumstance, that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* should pass over in silence the whole *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana but should, in giving the counter instance, "Yājñavalkāṇi Brāhmanāni," add "Why does this rule of Pānini (restrict the formation of Brāhmana-names with the affix *in*) to those Brāhmanas proclaimed by the 'old' ? Because the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya, etc., are called Yājña-

valkāni Brāhmanāni, etc, for, *according to legendary reports, these and similar Brāhmanas do not belong to a remote time.*¹⁶³ Thus, on traditional grounds — which we should have thanked Jayāditya if he had designated in more precise terms — the Kāśikā, too, discards the notion of the *Yājñavalkāni Brāhmanāni* being an exception to the much-quoted rule of Pāṇini. On the contrary, it looks, as we see, on the derivative *Yājñavalka* as a counter-instance, which confirms the statement of Pāṇini, but, I hold that this commentary was wanting in judgment when it passed over in silence the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, since the latter, by its very mistaken reproach, affords us a valuable means of judging on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana

Before I support with further arguments the conclusions I have drawn with regard to this chronological relation between the two grammarians, it will be expedient to take a cursory view of the *principal categories* of known ancient writings not already mentioned, acquaintance with which, on the one hand, is shown by Pāṇini himself, and the existence of which, on the other, may either be assumed to fall within a period not very distant from the time when Pāṇini wrote, or in his time, to be open to doubt, on account of the reasons previously alleged

163 The commentary of the Kāśikā on this Sūtra which, as in general is much better and more clearly worded than the comment of the Calcutta Pandits, runs thus (MS E I II 2440) प्रत्यक्षविशेषणमेतत् । सुनीयानमर्थप्रोक्तैर्निनिप्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तञ्चेद । ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेन चिरन्तनेन विना प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु तावत् । भान्विन शाण्डायनिन (should be शाट्वायनिन) । येनरेयिण ॥ बल्हपु । पैहो कल्प । आरण्यपराजो ॥ पुराणप्रोक्तेष्विति किम् । याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि । आश्वरथ वन्य । याज्ञवल्क्यादयो हि न चिरकाला इत्याचार्यानेषु वार्ता । I may add, that the Siddhānta Kaumudī also makes no mention of the Vārttika of Kātyāyana but, in reference to our question, merely contains these words (p 81 b line 1) पुराणप्रोक्तेष्विति किम् । याज्ञवल्कानि (misedited याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि ।

Since Pāṇini teaches, in the rule I have so often referred to, that all ancient Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa works bear names which end in the (technical) affix *nini*, the names of the former, by the common consent of all commentators, ancient and modern, being used in the plural only, we are justified in inferring that none of the works of the category now preserved in manuscript, so far as my knowledge goes, are ancient works from Pāṇini's point of view. That one of them, at least, the Kalpa work of Kātyāyana, cannot have existed in Pāṇini's time, would be the consequence of the foregoing inquiry, but I should not venture to say more than I have said of the other ritual books of the same category.

Again, if the conclusion I drew as to Pāṇini's not having been acquainted with the *Āraṇyakas* be correct, it would imply, of necessity, that the *Upanishads* could not have existed when he lived, since they are a further development of this class of works, and this conclusion, again, strengthens the arguments I have adduced for the non-existence, in Pāṇini's time, of the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, arranged by Yājñavalkya, for an important Upanishad, the *Īsa-Upanishad* is the last portion of this version of the Yajurveda ¹⁶⁴

164 Pāṇini mentions the word *Upanishad* once, viz I 4, 79, but not in the sense of a sacred work. It occurs twice in the *Ganas*, viz, to IV 3, 73 and 4, 15, in the former it has the sense of such a work, but it is doubtful whether it has in the latter also.—In a note at page 325, Professor Müller gives a detailed account of the history of *Anquetil du Perron's Oupnekhat*, "which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin". Since his bibliographical sketch cannot fail to be of much interest and use to many of his readers, it will not be superfluous to correct a mistake of his when he states that the French translation of Anquetil du Perron was "not published. It was not published entirely, but in the well known work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil, Rennell, and Bernoulli. "*Description historique et géographique de l'Inde etc Berlin vol I second edition, 1791, vol II 1786, vol III 1788,*" the second part of the second volume contains his translation "en françois barbare," as the author himself calls it, of the "*Oupnekhat Narain (tire') de l' A'herban Band*" (p 297 ff), of the "*Oupnekhat tadio*

That Pāṇini was conversant, not only with a Black Yajur-

(*tiré*) du *Dyedyr Beid* " (p 301 ff), of the "*Oupnekhat Athrbsr* (*tiré*) de l' *Athrban Beid* " (p 308 ff) and of the "*Oupnekhat Schat Roudri* (*tiré*) du *Dyedyr Beid* " (p 323 ff) The same volume also contains an interesting paper of his "*nouvelles preuves que l'Oupnekhat ne parle nulle part du Kaliougam, ni des trois autres Iaugams*" (Table des Articles, p 546 ff) —There is another work published anonymously, which comprises, besides other interesting matter, translations in German of portions of Oriental works, the first volume of this work—the only one that appeared, I believe—bears the title "*Sammlung Asia'tischer Original Schriften—Indische Schriften—Zürich, 1791,*" and contains, amongst others, a German translation of the first three Upanishads published in the work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil du Perron etc As this volume is curious and of great scarcity, I subjoin a list of its contents, as given by the author himself "*Baga-wadam Tezeta Der Talapoeng Reg Palismuk Des Fo Bash Upnekhat Mahabarat Ind.Raschah Amberikend Bedang Schaster Dirm Schaster Neadirsen Go'tter Verzeichnus Schastah-Bade Lords Schaster Tirunamalai Ramesuram Rsm suram Phil Gespräch : Sasitram*" —A note appended to the translation of the "*Upnekhat Athrbsar*," at p 286 of this work, drew my attention to "*A prayer directed by the Brāhmanas to be offered up to the Supreme Being written originally in the Shanseri language, and translated by C W Boughton Rouse, Esq from a Persian Version of Dara Shikoo, a son of Jah Jehan Emperor of Hindostan*—which prayer is appended to the "*Insights of Tamour*, by Joseph White (Oxford, 1783), for the note in question says that this prayer is a free and abridged version, from the Persian, of the same Upnekhat Athrbsar (or Upanishad Atharvasiras) But having compared them, I cannot convince myself that such is the case, though the ideas expressed in both compositions have much similarity — In passing, I may mention, also, that this same prayer attracted the attention of the "*Monthly Review* of 1783, and, in consequence, that of August Hennings in his interesting work, *Versuch einer Ostindischen Litterar-Geschichte nebst einer kritischen Beurtheilung der Aesthet der Zend Bucher* Harburg und Kiel, 1786 " This work, which is extremely rare, bears testimony to the extensive scholarship of its author, it gives a critical review — more or less detailed—of 114 works, and has an Appendix, entitled "*Grundlage zu einem vollständigen Verzeichnisse aller Schriften die*

veda,¹⁶⁵ but with a *Rg*-and and a *Sāma-veda*, is borne out by several Sūtras of his. We may expect, too, that he, like every other Hindu, looked upon the *Rgveda* as the principal *Veda*, and this assumption is confirmed by the circumstance of his calling a *Pāda* of the *Rgveda* simply the "*Pāda*" without the addition of the word *Rk*.¹⁶⁶ But there is no evidence to show that he knew an *Atharvaveda*. The word *atharvan*, it is true, occurs three times, but only in the *Ganas* to his rules, and there even only as the name of a priest. We may add, also, that the word *ātharvāṅka* is found in two Sūtras (IV 3, 133, and VI 4, 174), where it is explained by Patañjali as meaning "the office and the sacred record of the Atharvan," — that Patañjali confirms the occurrence of the word *atharvan* in the *Gana* to the Sūtra IV 2, 63, where it can only mean a literary work, and, besides, that the word *atharvāṅka* occurs twice in the *Ganas*.¹⁶⁷ Yet even the testimony of Patañjali cannot entirely remove the uncertainty which, as we have seen above, must always adhere to the *Ganas* as evidence for or against Pānini,

Ostindien und die damit verbundene Länder betreffen, In alphabetischer Ordnung als ein Anhang zur Literatur-Geschichte Ostindiens Hamburg" This Appendix contains the titles of not less than 1372 works of the 16th, 17th and 18th century, referring to the history, "antiquities, nations, languages, religions, and the natural history of India," many of which are unknown not only to me, but to several Oriental scholars, librarians, and bibliographers whom I have consulted about them.

165 See note 153

166 For his knowledge of the *Rgveda*, compare VI 3, 55, 133, VII 4, 39, etc., for the occurrence of *pāda* VI 1, 115, VII 1, 57, VIII 1, 18, etc., for *Sāma-veda*, I 2, 34, IV 2, 7, V 2, 59, etc.

167 For *Atharvan*, see the *Ganas* to IV 2, 38 and 63, (it occurs, too, in a *Vārttika* to IV 3, 133) For *Ātharvāṅka*, IV 3, 133, VI 4, 174 and the *Ganas* to IV 2, 63 and (in the *Kāṇḍikā*) 60, for *Ātharvāṅka* the *Ganas* to IV 2, 38 and 63 and (in the *Kāṇḍikā*) 60 — On IV 3, 133, Patañjali's remarks, after the words of the Sūtra *आथर्वणो धर्मः । आथर्वण आमाय । इदमाथर्वणारम् । आथर्वणिकाधश्च चतुर्भद्राणि क्रियन्ते । वसन्तादिष्वथर्वणशब्द आथर्वणशब्दश्च* (comp IV 2, 63) *यथा ने षष्ठेऽप्यावे* (VI 4, 174) *प्रवृत्तिमावर्धे* इदं क्रियते etc

with the exception of their first work, mentioned by himself, or such of their words as are referred to by other rules of his. Nor does the occurrence of the word *ātharvanika* in the two Sūtras quoted necessarily confirm the interpretation of Patañjali. It may there only mean the office of an Ātharvan priest, who, probably, was employed in the performance of sacrificial acts. In short, there is no valid ground for attributing to Pānini a knowledge of the fourth and least sacred Veda, the Atharva-veda, and this doubt derives some additional weight from the fact that, though the word *Angiras* one of the reputed Rshis of the Atharva-veda, is mentioned in a Sūtra (II 4, 65), neither the compound *Atharvāngirasas*, nor its derivative, *Ātharvāngirasa*, is met with in the Sūtras of Pānini, though the former is the name, as well of the two seers of the Atharva-veda, as especially of the hymns of this Veda itself, — while the latter means the observances connected with the Atharva-veda, and would have deserved a place amongst grammatical rules.

In the last chapter of his learned work, Professor Muller gives instances of hymns which he considers as belonging to the oldest portion of Vaidika literature. It seems difficult to follow his arguments so as to arrive at a settled conviction on this point, for the reasons he gives in assigning these hymns to the earliest portions of Hindu poetry rest on impressions so individual, that assent or dissent of those who read the Rg-veda hymns will depend much on their own disposition. I should, for instance, for my part, hesitate very much to assign to a hymn which speaks of thirty three gods¹⁶⁸ a place amongst the most ancient hymns, since it betrays, in my opinion, a very artificial and developed condition of religiousness, and a considerable deviation from what I hold to be the primitive feeling of the human mind. The impression I derive from another hymn, a poetic version of which Professor Muller gives (p 564), and a prose translation of which we owed already to Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. I p 33), would be to the same effect,—that it belongs, not to the earliest, but to the very latest hymns of the Rgveda-Saṁhitā, for it seems to me that a song

which begins, "There was no entity, no non-entity death was not, nor was there immortality," and concludes "Then who can know whence it proceeded, or whence this varied world arose, or whether it upheld itself, or not ? He who, in the highest heaven, is the ruler of this universe, does indeed know, but not another can possess that knowledge"—it seems to me that such a song must be already the result of the greatest struggles of the human heart the full grown fruit of a long experience in thought, — in other words, that it marks the end, and not the beginning, of a phase of religious development

I agree with Muller in one important point, viz (p 566) that " the evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vedic hymns," and It should have agreed with him still more if he had said that it is the only safe criterion with a European of the nineteenth century to settle this point Therefore, when he adds that "the occurrence of such a word as *tadānim* is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this [last named] hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it," — though I do not share the opinion expressed in this latter word,— I hold the adverb he mentions to be quite sufficient authority for removing this hymn from the earliest portion of Hindu songs

But setting aside our personal feelings, which, after all, are of no consequence, we cannot be indifferent about learning what Pānini considered to be the older or the more recent Vaidika hymns A direct opinion on this point we can scarcely expect to obtain from himself, but indirect evidence of his own impressions, or, more probably of the tradition current in his time, I believe may be collected from his Sūtras; and, however scanty it be, and however much we may think we may be able, without his aid, to arrive at a similar result in regard to the hymns I am going to name, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here The hymns of the Rgveda—and, consequently, those collected from it for the version of the Sama—, and the two other Vedas—were "seen," as I have shown

above (p 62), by the Rshis, who received them from a divinity This general belief was, as I there proved, shared in by Pānini, who, therefore, was not so unshackled by the inspiration doctrine as Professor Muller represents him to have been in his discussion on old and new Brāhmanas ¹⁶⁹ But there is a marked difference in the language he uses when speaking at one time of one category, and, at another, of another category of hymns, and it is this difference which induces me to express a doubt whether he looked upon all Vaidika hymns as *immediate* revelations from above

In his Sūtras IV 2, 7 to 9, he teaches the formation of words expressing the name of Sāmavedahymns, and he applies to the latter the word ' *seen* ' i.e. received by inspiration from the divinity In the Sūtra IV 3, 101, on the other hand, he heads a chapter, which comprises the next ten rules, with the words, *proclaimed by him*, which words imply that the Vaidika composition—the names of which he teaches the student to form in these rules—were *promulgated* by the Rshis, whose names are the bases of the several derivatives ¹⁷⁰ That these two different expressions were chosen by Pānini deliberately, results from the contents of the last named rules They contain amongst others (IV 3, 105), names of Kalpa works, which, at no period of the Hindu religion, were "seen" or ascribed to superhuman authorship This words ' *proclaimed* ' has also been noticed especially by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, who judge as follows of its import in these rules — *Kātyāyana* "(It might seem that) this word 'proclaimed' is purposeless, since no affix is visible in (certain) derivatives (which imply its sense)"—*Patañjali* "Why is it purposeless ? 'Because,' says Kātyāyana, 'no affix is visible ' That is to say,

169 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 361 "Pānini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration—doctrine which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mīmāṃsā school, broadly states the fact that there are old and new Brāhmanas, etc "

170 IV 2, 7 इष्टं साम — IV 3, 101 तेन प्रोक्तम् — *Praudha mano ramā* प्रकर्षेणोक्तं प्रोक्तम् । अध्यायनेनार्थज्याख्यानेन वा प्रकाशितमित्यर्थः । प्रकर्षेणेति वचनाच्चेह । देवदत्तेनाध्यापितम् Compare the following note

if 'proclaimed' means that the Vaidika version of the Kālāpas or Kāthakas is rectified village for village, a derivative implying such a sense has no (special) affix" — *Kātyāyana* = (It is purposeless, too) if applied to the sense 'book,' for (in this sense) an affix is taught (elsewhere)" — *Patañjali*: "There is an affix, if the sense 'composed, as a book,' is implied by it, but such an affix is provided for another rule of Pāṇini, viz., IV 3, 116. Could we, then, consider this word 'proclaimed' (in our rule) as used in reference to the Veda? But again, the Vedas are not made (like a book), they are permanent (or eternal)" — *Kātyāyana*: "If (however, one should assert that this word) concerns the Veda, (he could be correct, provided that he meant to impart to the word 'proclaimed') a figurative sense" — *Patañjali*: (after repeating these latter words) "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (i.e., eternal)'? (Quite so), yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same, and it is through the difference in the latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kathas, Kālāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on" ¹⁷¹ Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of

171 Pāṇini तेन प्राक्तम् — *Kātyāyana* प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तत्रादर्शनाय — *Patañjali* प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । तत्रादर्शनात् । ग्रामे ग्रामे बालापकं काठकञ्च प्रोच्यते । न तत्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यते — *Kātyāyana* ग्रन्थे च वर्णनात् — *Patañjali* : यत्र च दृश्यते ग्रन्थं यमवति तत्र कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव मिदम् (IV 3, 116) । छन्दोऽर्थं तद्वाच्यं वक्तव्यम् । न हि च्छन्दासि कियन्ते । नित्यानि च्छन्दासि — *Kātyāyana* छन्दोऽर्थमिति चेतुस्तपन् — *Patañjali* : छन्दोऽर्थमिति चेतुस्तपन् इति । [The MS contains here a repetition, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist] ननु चोक्तं न हि च्छन्दासि कियन्ते नित्यानि च्छन्दासि । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यः । या त्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वीं मानि या च्छन्दाश्चैतद्वति 'काठक' 'बालापक' मौदव ऐष्णव्यक'मिति । न तद्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् । वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रथोच्यम् । यत्तेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृतम् । मायुरा [cf. *Kātyāyana* मायुरा] वृत्तिः । यदि तर्हि (युन)स्य निर्वचनमस्ति । इत्येव वक्तव्यम् । अत्र वक्तव्यम् । तदप्यवश्यं वक्तव्यम् । यत्तेन कृतं न च तेन प्रोक्तं वादस्त्वकाञ्चम् । बालपका श्लोका — *Kātyāyana* प्रपूर्वो वचि प्रका शनेऽध्यापनरूपे वा वक्तव्ये वरते वा । तत्रादर्शने प्रत्ययो न दृश्यते । दिनाय तु सूत्रान्तरेण (i.e. IV 3, 116) मिदमिति नन्वाह । प्रोक्तग्रहणमिति ग्रामे ग्राम इति । सुशर्मा दाना प्रतिग्रामं प्रवक्तुं वेदेषु शुभमत्र प्रोक्तं काठकनसौशान्तमिति [probably (i.e.)

Patañjali's accounting for the various versions of the Vaidika texts, it is evident that Pāṇini — who comprises Kalpas under

Edo) काठकम् । सौ] प्रयोगो न दृश्यत इत्यर्थः । नित्यानाति । कर्तुरस्मरणात्तेषा
मिति भावः । या स्वसाविति । महाप्रलयादिषु वर्णानुपूर्वाविनाशे पुनस्तस्य (MS
पुनस्तस्य) ऋषयः सत्कारातिशयाद्देवार्थं स्मृत्वा शब्दरचना विदधतीत्यर्थः (MS
विदधतीत्यर्थः) । तद्भेदादिति । आनुपूर्वभेदादित्यर्थः । ततश्च कठादयो वेदानुपूर्व्या कर्तार
एव न तु स्थिताया एव सुशर्मादिवत्प्रवक्तारः । ततश्च च्छन्दस्यपि कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव
(IV 3, 116) सिद्ध प्रत्यय इति भावः । माथुरीणि । माथुरेण प्रथमतः प्रकाशितेत्यर्थः ।
(IV 3, 108) कणापिनोऽगित्यण्ग्रहणस्याधिकविधानार्थं छादृद्धादप्यत्राण्मवति
(MS 'यथादृद्धा') । द्विविधब्रह्म प्रोक्तं गृह्यते परकृतं स्व(कृतं) वा यत्प्रकाशितं तेन
प्रोक्ताधिकार एव कठादिभ्यो बक्ष्यमाणप्रत्ययविधानम्—\Jgojibhaṭṭa : तेन प्रोक्तम् ।
कालापककाठकयोगोऽत्रचरणादुम् (IV 3, 126) धर्मान्नाययोरिति बोध्यम् । प्रपूर्वो
वचिरिति । अध्यापनरूपे प्रकाशने वा [both MSS of the E I H, No 350
and 1209, in the same order] वर्तने करणे वेत्यन्वयः । ननु काठकमित्यादौ
प्रत्ययदशानां प्रत्ययो दृश्यत इत्यनुपपन्नमन आह । सुशर्मादीनामिति । भाष्ये ग्रन्थे
चेति तेन कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यर्थः (IV 3, 116) । ग्रन्थः स इति तेन कृतो ग्रन्थः स इत्यर्थः ।
अथेन वेदस्य निरदत्तत्वं स्वीकृत्याशेनानित्यत्वमाह । यद्यप्यर्थ इति । अनेन वेदस्य शब्दा-
र्थोऽन्यवृत्तिर्धनितम् (MS 1209 'सिनिध्व', perhaps 'सिरितिध्व') । ननु भाता
यथा पूर्वमकल्पयदित्यादिभ्युत्पत्तिरुत्पत्तेरनुपूर्व्यं मेवेति नन्यपूर्वमीमांसासिद्धान्तरसा निरये-
त्युक्तमन आह । महाप्रलयादिभ्यः । आनुपूर्व्यास्तत्तत्क्षणवदितत्वेनानित्यत्वमिति भावः
इति केचित् । तत्र । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्य इत्यादिवाक्यशेषविरोधात् । अर्थस्यापि ज्योतिष्टोमादेर-
नित्यत्वात् । प्रवाहाविच्छेदेन नित्यत्वं तूभयोरपि तस्मान्मन्वन्तरभेदेनानुपूर्व्यं भिन्नैव ।
प्रतिमन्वन्तरं चैषा भुतिरन्या विधीयत इत्युक्तेरित्यन्वे । परे तु । अर्थो नित्य इत्यत्र
कृतत्वंविरोधोऽनित्यत्वंस्वैवान्नुपगमः पूर्वपक्षिणा तादृशानित्यत्वंस्वैव च्छन्दःसूक्ते । एवं
चार्थश्चन्देनात्रेश्वरः । मुख्यतया तस्यैव सर्वविद्वत्तात्पर्यविषयत्वात् । वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्य
इति गीनोक्तेरित्याहुः (XV 16) । वर्णानुपूर्व्या अनित्यत्वे मानमाह तद्भेदाच्चेति ।
अनित्यत्वव्याप्यभेदेन तस्मिन्निधि । भेदोऽत्र नानात्वम् । इत्यरे तु न नानात्वः (? MS
नतत्वं ?) । भेदे मान व्यवहारमाह । काठकेत्यादि । अर्थक्येऽप्यानुपूर्वभेदादेव काठक
कालापकादिन्यवहार इति भावः अत्रानुपूर्व्यमित्येयुक्ते पदानि तान्येवेति ध्वनिन तदाह ।
ततश्च कठादय इत्यधिकं मञ्जूषाया द्रष्टव्यम् । ननु माथुरादृद्धाच्छेव भाष्यमत आह
(comp IV 2, 114) । कणापिनोऽगिति (IV 3, 108) । नन्वेव कठादिभ्यः
प्रोक्ताधिकारे प्रत्ययविधानं व्यर्थम् । तत्र । यद्योक्तं न च तेन कृतमित्यर्थबाधादत आह ।
द्विविधञ्चेति प्रोक्ताधिकार एवेति । कृतग्रहणेन स्वाप्रकाशितत्ववृत्तस्यैव ग्रहणादिति भावः
[Obvious mis spellings in the MSS — especially in MS 350, which
here is more indifferent than MS 1209—whence this passage is taken
have been left unnoticed by me The text here given is, in my opinion,
as correct as the MSS in question will allow to edit it]

the term 'proclaimed' — looked upon the works, the names of which are taught in these rules, not as having been 'seen' or received *immediately* from the divinity. They must, in his mind, therefore, belong to a later period than the Sāmaveda hymns which he treats of in the rules VI 2 7-9 as having been 'seen'. Nor would there be anything remarkable in this

I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators on this important Sūtra and its Vārtikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects and, at the same time, bears out my statement at page 65. We see Kaiyaṣa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences of its various versions which nevertheless maintain an equal claim to infallibility. Patañjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question, and unless it be allowed here to render his expression *varṇa* (which means 'letter'), "word," it is barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or permanence of the 'sense of the Veda'. That the modern Mimāṃsists maintain not only the 'eternity of the sense' but also the 'permanence of text,' which is tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others, from Nāgojibhaṭṭa. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in by the old Mimāṃsists, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself. He and Kaiyaṣa inform us therefore that, amongst other theories, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or, rather, words) in the Vaidika texts got lost in the several *Pralayas* or destructions of the worlds, and, since each *Manvantara* had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidika texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations which were "remembered," through "their excessive accomplishments," by the Rshis, who, in this manner, produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the Kathas, Kalpas, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by Kumārila, in his *Mīmāṃsā-Vārtika* (I 3, 10). I forbear, however, quoting it on the present occasion on account of its great length, and because I hope to be able to give it in a more appropriate place.

view, if it merely referred to the Brāhmana works which also are the subject of his rules, for this class of inspired literature is looked upon by all the authorities as being inferior in degree, and, I hold therefore, less immediate, as an emanation than the hymns of the Sanhitās. But there occurs in midst of these rules one (IV 3, 106) which contains the word *Chhandas*, which, being contradistinguished from the word *Brāhmana* in the preceding rule (IV 3, 105), cannot have there any other sense than that of *Mantra*, as I have shown above, or, if it should be thought that it is contrasted there with *Kalpa* as well as with *Brāhmana* in the preceding rule, it would mean Veda in general—*Mantra and Brāhmana*. And, in connection with this word Pāṇini writes, '*Śaunaka*' Śaunaka, however, we know, from Śāyana's commentary on the Rgveda and the Anukramanī, was the Rshi who is supposed to be the author of the second Mandala, as we now possess it, though in a former version it appears to have belonged to the Rshi Grtsamada¹⁷²

Should, then, my view of Pāṇini's rule be correct, it will follow that Pāṇini considered this second Mandala as of a later date than the other Mandalas, and we cannot but admit that even the first hymn of the second Mandala fully confirms this impression, for, by speaking of Hotr, Potr, Neshtr, Agnidhra, Prasāstr, Adhvaryu, and Brahmā priests, it certainly betrays a very advanced development of sacrificial and artificial rites

Mīmāṃsā is a word of special grammatical interest, not in so far as its affix *ā* is concerned—for the latter belongs to a general category of derivatives dealt with by Pāṇini in his rule III 3, 102—but on account of the irregular formation of its base. It must be admitted that the Sūtra I 3, 62 may

172 Compare Śāyana in the beginning of his commentary on the second Mandala, Professor Wilson's detailed account in his translation, vol II, p 207, and Professor Muller's *Ancient Literature*, pp 231, 232, as well as the corresponding passage from Shadgurusishya, at p 237

be looked upon as including this base also, but whether the instance *mīmāṃs*, given by the commentators, has there the general sense of *considering*, or the special sense of the philosophical reasoning of the *Mīmāṃsā*, cannot be inferred from the general tenor of this rule. This latter sense is emphatically expressed by two words derived from *mīmāṃs*, viz., *Mīmāṃsā* the name of the philosophy, and *Mīmāṃsaka*, a *Mīmāṃsā* philosopher. Neither word occurs in Pāṇini¹⁷³. Nor does he mention *Jaimini*, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra*, and it is, perhaps, worthy of our attention, that not even the *Ganas* to Pāṇini contain the formation of this word, which is of as much interest as any other word of the *Gana Bāhyādī* (IV 1, 96)¹⁷⁴.

The word *Vedānta* having no remarkable grammatical peculiarities, had no claim to the notice of Pāṇini, but had he been aware of the word *Vedāntin* "one who knows the *Vedānta*," it would certainly have required a special rule of his, since there is no *Sūtra* in his Grammar by which the sense of this derivative could be made out satisfactorily. And as Pāṇini notices but *one single word* in which the base is not a

173 Even Kāṭyāyana gives no *Vārtika* to teach the formation of *mīmāṃsaka*, though this word is of some interest from a grammatical point of view. Amongst those words which designate followers of a doctrine or philosophy, it is the only one formed with a *kṛt*-affix. It occurs, e.g. as an instance of *Ṭaṭṭajali*, to I 2, 64, v 17, II 2, 29, and in a *Kārikā* of the latter to III 2, 123 where it is rendered by *Kaṣṭhata* *śūhāraka*. It occurs, too, as an instance, not in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the *Kārikā* and *Siddh* -k to II 1, 53, in the compound *मामोसकदुर्द्ध*, and it is probably the property of the Calcutta Pandits, as an instance to IV 3, 9.

174 With regard to *Jaimini*, I have only to add that the instance *जैमिनिवहार* or *कदारजैमिनि* to II 2, 38 has not yet found a place in the *Bhāṣya* or in *Kaṣṭhata*'s commentary, it occurs in *Kārikā* and the *Gana ratna-mahodadhī*, but on what authority *Jayāditya* and *Vardhamāna* give this handsome epithet to the old *Jaimini*, or whether it is levelled against another *Jaimini*, I have no means of stating.

proper name, and the affix *in* (technically *in*) imparts to the derivative the sense of studying or knowing, viz , *anubrāhmaṇin*, "one who studies or knows a work like a Brāhmaṇa" (IV 2, 62), the omission of *Vedāntin* acquires increased significance ¹⁷⁵

Sāṅkhya is a peculiar form. It comes from *sankhyā*, and designates the philosophy which is based on 'synthetic (*saṁ*) reasoning (*khya*)'. Its very name shows that it is the counterpart, as it were, of *Nyāya* (*ni āya*), or the philosophy founded on 'analytical reasoning'. For while the former builds up a system of the universe, the latter dissects it into categories, and 'enters into' its component parts. Yet a grammatical rule would have had to explain why the name of former system is not a *krt*-formation,—for instance, its very base, *sankhyā*, analogously to the *krt*-formation *nyāya*. It has not been noticed by Pāṇini. Nor does he teach — as he probably would have done had this philosophy existed in his time — that the same word means, as a masculine, a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy ¹⁷⁶

175 In the Sūtra IV 3, 111, the affix *in* (technically, *in*) has a similar purport, but the base implies a proper name, thus *Karmandin*, *Kṛtsin* mean "one who studies or knows the works of Karmanda, Kṛtsva."

176 For the various explanations, given by native authorities, of this term, I need now refer to one essay only, since it probably comprises all the literary information—and not only on this point—which can be obtained in our days on Sāṅkhya writers, and certainly more than any one scholar in Europe would have at his command—I mean the learned and excellent preface of Dr Hall to his elaborate edition of the *Sāṅkhya Prasāngya*. The latter sense of the word *Sāṅkhya*, "a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy," occurs, e g in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III 3, or, together with the word *Kāṇāda*, "a follower of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine," in the commentary of *Śaṅkara* on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, II 3 51 बहुवाक्यं सर्वगतेषु प्रतिश्रुतार बाह्याभ्यन्तराविशेषण सन्निरुद्धेषु मनोवाक्यार्थमभिप्रेक्ष्यमाणमदृष्टमुतात्पर्ये । साङ्ख्यानां तावच्च । काण्वदानामपि etc

The word *Yoga* occurs several times in the *Sūtras*,¹⁷⁷ but never in the sense of a system of philosophy, and the only two derivatives of this word which are taught by Pāṇini, viz., *yogya* and *yaugika* (V 1, 102) are two words which have no connection whatever with its philosophical meaning. In the sense of 'religious austerity,' it seems to have been known by Pāṇini, though he has no rule on the formation of this word, apparently because it offers no other grammatical interest than that which would be satisfied by his general rules III 3, 18 and VII 3, 52, for he has a rule on the formation of *yogin* (III 2, 142). But this word means *a man who practises religious austerities*, it does not mean a follower of the Yoga system of philosophy.

That *Nyāya* was known to Pāṇini in the sense of *syllogism* or *logical reasoning*, or perhaps *logical science*, I conclude from the *Sūtra* III 3, 122,¹⁷⁸ where its affix conveys the sense

177 I 2, 54 55 — III 4, 20 — V 1, 102, 4, 44 47 50 125 — VI 4, 74 75 — VIII 1, 59

178 I regret that I must again animadvert on an error of the Calcutta editors. In their gloss on the *Sūtra* III 3, 122, they give the following etymology of न्याय, "णीष् । नीयन्तेऽनेनेति । न्याय ।" According to them, this word would therefore come from नी "to lead," an etymology which, of course, is absolutely impossible. Nor is there any trace of it in any of the commentaries known to me. Patañjali and his commentators have no remark on this easy word. The *Kāśikā*, which explains every *Sūtra*, writes नीयन्तेऽनेनेति न्याय, but neither allows these words to be preceded by "णीष्," nor, as this quotation shows, to contain a third person of the plural (नीयन्ते). Its gloss obviously means, "because entering is made (नि+इयते) by it, the derivative is न्याय." The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (fol 211 a, line 7) has an analogous interpretation "नियति अनेन," etc., which is still more transparent. But what must one think of the proficiency of an 'editor of Pāṇini, who has none of the laborious work—which always gives a title to indulgence—of comparing MSS and compiling a commentary, —who merely repeats the labour of others,—and yet, even in a simple case like this, does not feel induced to consult the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, though he talks a great deal, even on this occasion,

of instrumentality, i.e. that by which analysis (*lit* entering-into) is effected, for the same form, *nyāya* ■ made the subject of another rule (III 3, 37), where Pāṇini gives as its meaning 'propriety, good conduct,' which would lead to its later meaning, 'policy.' Unless we drew this distinction between the two Sūtras named, the first Sūtra would become superfluous. Nor is it probable that a civilisation like that which is traceable in Pāṇini's rules could have done without a word for syllogistic thought. But between this sense of the word *nyāya* and its designating the special system of Gautama there is a vast difference. Nay, had Pāṇini even written the Gana IV 2, 60, which implies, in its present version, the formation *naiyāyika*, this latter word would not require us to infer that it means there a follower of Gautama's school, it may only signify a man who studies or knows the laws of syllogism.¹⁷⁹ To substantiate this conclusion, with all the detail it deserves, would be a matter of great interest, for no philosophical school has dealt more largely with grammatical subjects than the *Nyāya* school, and its branch, the *Vaiśeṣika*. The nature of 'sound' and word," the question whether word is 'eternal or transitory,' the 'power' or purport of words, the relation of base and affix, and such kindred matters are treated of in a vast literature based on the Sūtras of Gautama, and the controversies of the *Naiyāyikas* with the *Vaiyākaranas* or etymologists need not blush before those of our modern philosophers. I must, however, confine myself on the present occasion, as heretofore, to giving a small amount of proof, that Pāṇini could not have known the Sūtras of Gautama.

of the Kāśikā "A B and C," but without mastering its 'a, b, c,' simply repeats the gross blunder of the editors of his edition of Pāṇini!

179 To arrive at the form नैयायिकी it is necessary to combine with the Gana quoted, the Sūtra VII 3, 3. The same word न्याय in the philosophical sense, occurs in the Gana to IV 3, 73, where a MS of the Kāśikā has even the reading न्यायविद्या, and probably, in the same sense in the Gana to VIII 1, 27, but even if Pāṇini himself had written in there, we should not be justified in giving it a more definite sense than the one stated. In the Sūtra IV, 4, 92, and the Gana to IV 3, 54, it has the sense of "propriety."

After having refuted the opinion that the sense of a word conveys either the notion of *genus* or that of *species*, or that of *individual*, each taken separately, *Gautama* continues — "1 The sense of a word conveys (at the same time) as well the notion of *genus* (*jāti*), as that of *species* (*ākṛti*), as that of an *individual* (*vyakti*) 2 An individual (*vyakti*) is a bodily form as a receptacle for the particularisation of qualities 3 Species (*ākṛti*), is called the characteristic mark of genus 4 Genus (*jāti*) is that which has the property of (intellectually) producing (species) of the same kind" ¹⁸⁰

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛti*. We meet, in his Grammar only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyakti*. In the

180 Nyāya Sūtras II 131—134 जात्याकृतित्वक्यस्तु पदार्थे ॥ व्यक्ति र्गणविशेषादयो मूर्ति ॥ आकृतिर्जातिलिङ्गाख्या ॥ समानप्रसवस्त्विका जाति ॥ —The object of *Gautama* is to show that *individual*, *species* and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy. In translating the term *vyakti*, stress must be laid on the word *vijēsha*, "particularisation," otherwise there would be but *one individual*. The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *ākṛti*, from Dr. Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the *Nyāya Sūtras*, renders this term "from" which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings. But when *Viśvanātha*, in his comment on the Sūtra II 124, writes आकृतिरवयवसंस्थानविज्ञेय and on II 133 जातिलिङ्गमित्यादया यस्या जातेर्गोत्वादि साम्यान्तिमस्थानविशेषो लिङ्गम्, he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛti* is "the particularisation of organisms," and "the characteristic mark of 'cowhood' is the particularisation of the organism of a cow," which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛti* is *species*. In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Viśvanātha*, who comments on them thus, नान समानाकारक प्रसवो बुद्धिजननमात्मा स्वरूप यस्या सा तथा च समानाकारबुद्धिजननदोग्यत्वमयः । There can be no doubt, therefore, that *Gautama* meant our term *genus*.

rule I 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes,” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patañjali, is a tree ¹⁸¹ At I 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural “if the word expresses a *jāti*,” (e g a Brāhmana or the Brāhmanas), at V 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V 4, 37, to herbs,—at V 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI 3, 103, to grass,—and IV 1, 63. ■ a rule on “*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender” It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *ākṛti*, viz, *species*,¹⁸² and I may

181 I 2, 52 विशेषणानां जायते —I must observe here that the *Kārikā* and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patañjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense च भजान् Patañjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*s. He rejects, too, such instance as पञ्चाला जनपद, सुमिक्षा सम्पन्न पानीय, बहुमास्यफल, which illustrate his *pūrvapakṣa* an instance of his conclusion is वदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्ष —Patañjali कथमिदं विहायते । जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिदमाहोस्तिवजातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति । किं वात । यदि विहायते जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिति सिद्ध पञ्चाला जनपद इति । सुमिक्षा (MS “क्ष ”) सम्पन्नपानीय । बहु मास्यफल इति न सिध्यति । अत्र विहायते । जातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति । सिद्ध सुमिक्षा (MS “क्ष ”) सम्पन्नपानीय । बहुमास्यफल इति । पञ्चाला जनपद इति न सिध्यति । एव तर्हि नैव विहायते जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिति नापि जातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति । कथं तर्हि विशेषणानां युक्तवद्भावो भवति —Vārttika आ जाते —Patañjali आ जानि प्रयोगात् । किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते —Vārttika विशेषणानां वचन जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् —Patañjali जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थोऽयमारम्भ । किमुच्यते जानिनिवृत्त्यर्थ इति न पुनर्विशेषणादामपि युक्तवद्भावो यथा स्यादिति —Vārttika समानाधिकरणत्वारिसिद्धम् —Patañjali समानाधिकरणत्वाद्विशेषणानां युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति । यद्येव नार्थोऽनेन लुपोऽन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति । कान्यत्र । वदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्ष इति । किं पुन कारणमन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति etc —Kaivyaṭa अजातेरित्यसमर्थसमास । भवति नानन सम्बन्धात् । उभयथा चान्वाप्ति प्रतिषेधस्येति प्रश्न । आ जानिप्रयोगादिनि सूत्र आट प्रक्षेप न तु नञ etc

182 There is indeed a *Kārikā* of Patañjali which explicitly corroborates this comparison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording

add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of 'genus'

evidence that Gautama is prior to Patañjali. I mean the *Kārikā* to IV 1, ■, which says - आह्निप्रह्णा जातिलिङ्गानाञ्च न सर्वभाक् । सङ्ख्यारयान् निर्ग्राह्या गोवञ्च चरणे सह, : c, "jāts has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *ākṛts*, ■ does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognised (elsewhere), but it is, too, a family with its schools" The following passages from Kaiyyāṣa will bear out my translation आह्निप्रह्णयस्या साह्निप्रह्णावयवमन्निवेशविशेषव्यङ्ग्येत्यर्थः [For these last words compare Visvanātha's comment on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* II 133, in note 180] । एनेन गोत्वादिवानिलक्षिता ब्राह्मणत्वादित्तु न सङ्गहीना ब्राह्मणसुत्रियादीनां सत्त्वानस्य मङ्गलत्वादिति तत्तत्प्रहावाह । लिङ्गानामिति, etc । सङ्ख्येति । अयं गौरिति सङ्ख्युपदिष्टा जातिनिर्माहोत्तरं निश्चेतुं पिण्डान्तरे शक्येत्यर्थः । गोत्रमिति । अपत्यमित्यर्थः । चरणशब्देन छात्राध्यायिनो गृह्यन्ते । गोवस्य सर्वलिङ्गत्वात्पुत्रप्रादानम् । नाडावन नपुंसकमिति दर्शनात् And after having explained the *Kārikā* of "another" quoted by Patañjali, on the same subject, Kaiyyāṣa adds, "from this quotation by Patañjali it has been inferred that the former *Kārikā* expresses his opinion" पूर्वोक्तेनैव वक्ष्यमाणकारस्य मतम् । अपर आह्नेयमिधानादित्याहुः —On another occasion Patañjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāts* (: c = *ākṛts*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the *Bhāṣya* in note 181) आदिष्टलिङ्गा जातिर्बलिङ्गमुपादाय प्रवर्तते ।

उत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या विनाशापह्निञ्च न जहाति [Kaiyyāṣa आदिष्ट लिङ्ग यथा सादिष्टलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गेत्यर्थः, etc] : c, "If *jāts* has a fixed gender,—when- ever it has taken that gender, from birth to death it does not abandon that gender"—I must also call attention to another passage from the *Mahābhāṣya* which likewise shows that *jāts* has in Pāṇini, Gautama's sense of *ākṛts*, and which at the same time proves that Patañjali not only had a knowledge of the philosophical application of the latter term, but, when speaking in his own name uses *ākṛts* in the same manner in which it is used by Gautama. In the passage I am alluding to, he broaches the same problem which is proposed by the *Nyāya-Sūtras* but as a grammarian, and in reference to Pāṇini who has no term for *genus*, he comprises in his question merely the alternative whether the sense of a word in Pāṇini implies "species" (*ākṛts*), or 'individuality' (*dravya*) His answer is, that it comprises both, for those who maintain the former alternative are justified in their opinion by the *Sūtra* I 2,

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I 2, 51, and means there 'linga, a generic mark, which, in grammatical terminology, is *gender*'¹⁸³ The notion of individuality is not represented by a special word in the language of Pānini, the nearest approach to it = his word *adhikarana*, as it is used in the rules II 4, 13, 15, and V 3, 43, where it is rendered by the commentators by *dravya* = 'substance'. The term *viseshya* may be compared to *adhikarana*, but as it signifies "the object to be qualified" it is not the counterpart of *jāti*, but of *viseshana*, 'the quality'¹⁸⁴

The result of the foregoing comparison between Pānini and Gautama must remove, I believe, every doubt as to the chronological position of both. The expressions of Pānini show that he had not even conceived so much as the philosophical pro-

58, and those who incline towards the latter, by the Sūtra I 2, 64 *Patañjali's Introduction* (ed Ballantyne, p 40-42) किं पुनराहुनि पदार्थ आहोस्विद्भयम् । उभयमित्याह । कथं शब्दते । उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । आहुनि पदार्थं मत्वा आत्मारवायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्वतरस्यामित्युच्यते । इदं पदार्थं मत्वा सत्प्राणामेकशब्द आरभ्यते — Whether *Kātyāyana*, in using the expression असर्वज्ञिज्ञा ज्ञानि (I 4, 1 v 3, of Calcutta edition), merely adapted himself to the manner in which Pānini uses ज्ञानि, or whether he, too, had no yet a knowledge of Gautama's definition would have remained doubtful, had he not availed himself, in another of his Vārttikas, of the term *śruti* exactly in the sense in which it is defined by the Nyāya Sūtra—viz., in the Vārttika 5 (ed Calc) to VII 1, 74 न वा सना नायामाहुनौ माधिनपुस्तकविज्ञानात्, and thought Patañjali observes that this Vārttika is superfluous, since its contents are a matter of course, we may, nevertheless, be thankful for its word आहुनि, and the conclusions it enables us to draw in our present case — Patañjali न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । समानायामाहुनौ माधिनपुस्तकविज्ञानात् । सनानायामाहुनौ यद्माधिनपुस्तकम् । आहुत्यनन्दे चैवमाधिनपुस्तकम् । किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । न हि कथमनुच्यमानं गत्यते । एतदप्यर्थनिर्देशास्तिदम्, and *Kātyāyana* नत्र पीतुशब्दो वृक्षाहुनौ पुनित्वा प्रणीतौ नपुमकलिङ्ग इति पुनर्वावाप्रसङ्गः ।

183 *Vyakti* is used in the same sense by *Kātyāyana* in the Vārttika 1 (of the Calc ed) to I 2, 52

184 Compare II 1 57, also v 5 (ed Calc)

185 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 151

blem started and solved by Gautama. The very manner in which Patañjali is compelled to answer the question, whether 'the sense of a word' in Pāṇini "implies species or individuality"—viz., that at one time it implies the former, and at another the latter, shows that philosophical investigations into the 'sense of the word' had not yet troubled Pāṇini's mind. A mere difference of opinion between the grammarian and the Nyāya philosopher would be no proof for the posteriority of the latter, but the absence of the problem itself, in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, is, I hold, sufficient ground for this inference. A problem of this kind could not have been slighted by Pāṇini if he had been aware of it, it would have entered unconsciously, as it were, into his terminology, and into the mode of delivering his rules. There is abundant evidence in Patañjali's Great Commentary, that his training must have been a philosophical one, and it is Kātyāyana's superiority, too, in this respect, which inflicts on Pāṇini a quantity of Vārttikas finding fault with his empiric and unphilosophical treatment of grammatical facts.

After this conclusion, it seems needless to add that the Sūtras ignore the word *vaiśeṣika* which, from a grammatical point of view, would have had as much claim to being noticed by Pāṇini as any word comprised in his rules IV 2, 60 and 63. The formation *vaiśeṣika* is taught in the Gana to V 4, 34, but merely in the sense of *viśeṣa*.

There is an important class of ancient works the chronological relation of which to Pāṇini deserves our peculiar attention here, from the circumstance that their contents are more or less kindred with those of Pāṇini's work,—I mean the grammatical works known under the name of *Unnādi-Sūtras*, *Dhātupāṭha*, *Prātisākhya*, *Plut-Sūtras* and we may add to them the *Nirukta*, the exegetical work of Yaska. Each of these works, with perhaps the exception of one, if I am not mistaken, is unanimously considered by Sanskrit scholars, as prior to the Grammar of Pāṇini.

Before I proceed to examine whether this view can be upheld or not, I will quote Professor Muller's opinion on the age of

the *Unnādi-Sūtras* "We do not know," he says, by whom these Unādi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unādi Sūtras, as we now possess them, were first composed. All we can say is, that, as Pāṇini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time."

On the same subject, Dr Aufrecht, to whom we are indebted for a careful edition of the *Unnādi-Sūtras*, together with a commentary by *Ujvaladatta*, expresses himself thus¹⁶⁶—"We have no direct tradition as to the author of the *sūtras*. They were composed before the time of Pāṇini, as they are referred to by him in two different passages of his Grammar. The fact, however, that both *Yāska* and the author of the above-quoted *Kārikā* [vi, to III 3, 1] specify *Śakatāyana* as the grammarian who derived all nouns from verbs, speaks in favour of *Nāgoji*'s conjecture, that the authorship is to be attributed to *Śakatāyana*. Nor is this supposition entirely unsupported by the evidence of the *sūtras* themselves. In one place (II 38) we are told that the people of the north used the word *kārshaka* for 'a husbandman', in another (IV 128), that they employed *kārī* in the meaning of 'an artisan'. This distinction refers to a period of the language of which no mention is made by any grammarian after Pāṇini. In another rule (III 144,) we find the name of *Sa-kravarmāna*, an old grammarian who is only once more quoted namely, in Pāṇini, VI 1, 130. It is of some importance also, that the author of the *sūtras* considers *asman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidika, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence. These facts, even when taken collectively, furnish no decisive evidence as to the authorship of the *sūtras*, but they show, at all events, that they were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini."

186 "Ujvaladatta's Commentary on the Unnādi-Sūtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the East India House, by Theodor Aufrecht, Bonn 1859," Preface p viii.—The Unnādi-Sūtras were first published in the Calcutta edition of the *Siddhānta kaumudī*, afterwards reprinted—without any further consultation of MSS, but with deteriorations, by—Dr Boshlingk. Compare note 53

I have in the first instance, to demur to the correctness of one of these 'facts,' which, if it were real, would dispense with any further proof of the *Unnādi-Sūtras* having preceded—not, indeed, Pāṇini, for such an inference would always remain hazardous—but his grammatical work. It is true that grammarian speaks twice of *Unnādis*, but he never speaks of *Unnādi-Sūtras*.¹⁸⁷ The former term merely implies a list of *Unnādi* affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expression in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes,¹⁸⁸ but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the *Unnādi-Sūtras* which we are speaking of. Between a list of *Unnādis*—affixes or words—and *Unnādi-Sūtras*, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work. All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once.

With the conjecture of Nāgojibhatta I shall deal hereafter, but when Dr. Aufrecht quotes the meaning of *kārshaka* husbandman, and of *kārī*, 'artisan' as proving his conclusion, I candidly confess that I do not understand how the fact of these words having been used by the people of the north, in the sense given, can have the remotest bearing on the point at issue, even if in the whole stretch of the voluminous grammatical literature subsequent to Pāṇini, all of which, of course, is covered by his assertion, no grammarian had made mention of the distinction he is adverting to.¹⁸⁹ The *Unnādi-Sūtras* profess to give such information as is not contained in Pāṇini's work, he himself informs us of this character of the *Unnādi* list in the two rules alleged. It is but natural, therefore, that we should find in these two *Unnādi* rules, as indeed we find in the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini

187 III 3, 1 उणादयो बहुलम्, and III 4, 75 साम्बामन्यत्रोणादयः ।

188 *Vaidyanātha* on the *Paribhāṣā* उणादयोऽन्युपपन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि—उणादयः । तदन्तानि तदन्तत्वेनापिमवृणानि वा ।

189 And has this question—which portion of the grammatical literature is later than Pāṇini?—been so finally that, at present, any one is allowed to speak of it as a matter of course?

But even assuming that my inability to understand this premise of Dr Aufrecht only proves my own incapacity, I might go further and ask—What proof does there exist that these two Sūtras, which have nothing characteristic or peculiar in them, were not added to the original Sūtras at a later time, since Dr Aufrecht himself has shown that the genuineness of sixteen Sūtras was suspected by Ujvaladatta himself? And I may add—Are there not, for instance, in a valuable commentary on more than 300 of these Unnādi-Sūtras, composed by *Nṛsiṃha*, who lived *Samvat* 1577, or 1520 after Christ, at least in the MS I have consulted, not only many readings which differ from the text of Ujvaladatta, as edited by Dr Aufrecht, but three Sūtras the substance of which is now in the Commentary, and three Sūtras which are neither met with in the text of Bhattoji nor in that of Ujvaladatta? ¹⁹⁰ It seems, therefore, that with the actual doubts we must entertain as to the originality of several Unnādi-Sūtras, it is by no means safe to appeal to two or any such Sūtras for chronological evidence,

190 Between the Sūtras III 60 and 61 we read in the E I H MS 9B of *Nṛsiṃha's Svaramaṇjarī* (on accentuation)—where these Unnādi-Sūtras occur—a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujvaladatta, nor in his Commentary, viz भारेविकृच ॥ Comm भारवतीति बहण । दिवो धर्मं बहणे । बहण एकविंश । मध्योदात्त Between IV 2 and 3, it has a Sūtra the contents—but not the wording—of which are embodied in Ujvaladatta's Sūtra IV 2 कृचो किच ॥ Comm कृचरानुप्रत्यय किच । कृचतीति कृचानु । सप्ताष्टसि कृचानुश्च Between IV 90 and 91 तमेवुकृच (its substance occurs in the commentary on Sūtra IV 90), Comm तमेकलप्रत्यय । कुगागमो दीर्घश्च । (?) । ताम्यति तेनेति तामूलम्, and शृगातेदुग्बुद्धिश्च (embodied also in the Commentary of Ujvaladatta) ॥ Comm शृगातेकलप्रत्यय । दुग्बुद्धिश्च । शृगानीति शार्दूल । गवय शार्दूलाय राघ Before V 28 it mentions a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujvaladatta nor embodied in his Commentary शाखा ॥ Comm शाखेति निपात्यते । शो तनूकरणे । शाखाम्य स्वाहा etc Before V 52 which precedes V 70, and follows V 49 and the new Sūtra (s e V 69—the new Sūtra—52 70) दिवेदिचेदिनच् ॥ Comm दीव्यतीति चो । दिवो । दिव , this Sūtra, too is neither amongst the Sūtras nor in the Commentary of Ujvaladatta

unless they be able to show cause why they should not be ranked amongst the additions of later times.¹⁹¹

And again, what possible conclusion as to the chronological relation of the Unnādi-Sūtras to Pāṇini can be drawn from another quotation made by Dr Aufrecht? Śākara-varmana, he says, is once quoted by the Unnādi-Sūtras, and "*only once more, namely, in Pāṇini*" I will make no remark on these latter words. That they are quoted by both is undeniable, but since it happens that both Dr Aufrecht and I have quoted Pāṇini, does it follow that either of us lived a 'considerable time' before the other, or before any other writer who may also have quoted Pāṇini? When, however, Dr Aufrecht points out that the author of the Unnādi-Sūtras 'considers *aśman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidika, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence," I, too, lay much stress on the statement contained in this passage of the Unnādi-Sūtras, but by it arrive at the very opposite inference to that which has suggested itself to him. For, if Pāṇini treated these words which occur in the Vedas as words of common life, and, on the other hand, the author of the Sūtras in question had ceased to use them in his conversational speech,

191 Dr Aufrecht himself observes (p. ix) with perfect accuracy - "the unnādisūtras have not been handed down to us in their original form. It was not the intention of the author to give a complete list of all the unnādi-words, but merely to collect the most important of them. Hence we frequently meet with the sentence बहुलमन्वत्रापि 'in various other words, too,' or अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते 'the same suffixes are found in other words, too.'" The former of these expressions, quoted by Dr Aufrecht, occurs, indeed, five times and the latter once, and Patañjali says in his *hārikā* to III 3, 1, and in his comment on it बाहुल्यं प्रकृतं स्वनुष्ट ॥ तन्वीम्य प्रकृतिभ्य उणादयो दृश्यन्ते न सर्वाभ्यो दृश्यन्ते ॥ प्रायः समुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ॥ प्रायेण सखपि समुच्चिना । न सर्वे समुच्चिना ॥ कादंशेषविधेयं तदुक्तम् ॥ यार्थाणि सखपि सशेषाणि कृतानि । न सर्वाणि लक्षणेन परिममासनि । Since, then, the Unnādis are admitted, even by Patañjali, to be an incomplete list, and if there is evidence to prove that at recent periods writers permitted themselves to supply the deficiencies, it will be admitted that my hesitation is not a hypercritical one.

and records the fact that they belong, not only to literary language, but to that of the very oldest literature,—I do not conclude that such facts “show, at all events, that they (the Unnādi-Sūtras) were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini,” but I conclude that Pāṇini lived in that Vaidika age when *asman* and *bhuvana* were as well Vaidika as common words, and therefore required no distinctive remark of his, that on the contrary, the author of the two Unnādi Sūtras in question belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life,—in short, that Pāṇini lived a considerable time before this grammarian

An inference, however, of such importance as this could not be considered as resting on sufficiently solid ground if there were no other means of establishing it than two Sūtras of a work avowedly open to interpolations at various periods of Sanskrit literature

In order to support it with stronger arguments, I must raise a previous question, which does not concern the Unnādi-Sūtras alone—the question, *whether or not Pāṇini was the originator of all the technical terms he employs in his work?* Since he adverts several times, in his rules, to grammarians who preceded him,¹⁹² it would probably—not necessarily—be possible to answer this question if we possessed the works of these grammarians. *Sākāṭyana's* grammar seems indeed, to have come down to us, but though, in such a case it would be within my reach, it must still remain at present a sealed book to me, and I must treat it like the works of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and the other predecessors of Pāṇini who merely survive in name and fame ¹⁹³

192 See note 97

193. The knowledge that Sākāṭyana's Grammar exists, and is preserved amongst the treasures of the Library of the Home Government for India, we owe, like so much of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature to the lamented Professor Wilson, who speaks of it in his *Asiatic Collection*, vol I p 160. Many years ago I obtained sight of the precious volume, but as it is written on palm leaves in the Hala Kherāṭa character, and as I could not attempt to make it out without

There are, in my opinion, two Sūtras of Pāṇini which may serve as a clue through the intricacies of this problem

In five important rules of his, Pāṇini states that, on principle he will exclude from his Grammar certain subjects, as they do not fall within his scope. But since he gives reasons for doing so, he at the same time enables us to infer what he considered his duty, as a grammarian, to teach¹⁹⁴ Amongst these rules, one (I 2, 53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a

a magnifying glass, and then only with much difficulty, I was compelled to abandon my desire of mastering its contents. It is to be hoped now that a learned, laborious, and competent Sanskrit scholar will transcribe and publish this awkward MS, and thus relieve Sanskrit studies from a suspense which no one can feel more keenly than I do in writing these lines. I must add at the same time, that doubts have been lately expressed to me whether this MS contains really the original work of Śākaṭyana, or merely a Grammar founded on his

194 These rules are I 2, 53-57. They contain Pāṇini's grammatical creed, and are the keystone of his work. But all that the 'editor' of Pāṇini has to offer with respect to them is the following attempt at an epigram (vol II p 47) "Pāṇini makes an expedition against his predecessors". And thus, in taking up that which is merely incidental, and, compared with the subject itself, quite irrelevant, he completely leads the reader away from the real importance of these rules. The *Kāśikā*, II is true, mentions that Pāṇini differs in the principles he lays down in these rules from previous grammarians, but it is far from making a joke or concentrating the essence of its comment on so futile a point. It shows, on the contrary, the full bearing of these rules, and, I believe, it would have done still better had it embodied in its gloss the remarks of Patañjali on some of these Sūtras. At all events, the commentary of the *Kāśikā* on them was deemed important enough even by Dr Eohtlingk to be quoted by him on this occasion in its full extent, though his reason for doing so is merely to show the "expedition of Pāṇini against his predecessors". "*The whole*," (viz, this expedition) he writes in introducing the *Kāśikā*, "*becomes sufficiently clear through an excellent commentary, I mean the Kāśikā vṛtti, which will make any other remark super-*

previous Sūtra, says "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine, *literally* for it has the authority of a *saṃsthā* or conventional term)" To these words *Patañjali* appends the following gloss "When Pāṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression such technical terms as *u*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like? No, for

śloka" As the quotation he then gives from the *Kāśikā* is the only one, of any extent, in his whole second volume, and as he assumes all the appearance of treating it with that minute and critical and conscientious circumstantiality which even in an incidental quotation must be extremely welcome,—I mean by giving the various readings of his MSS ("A"=MS 829, "B"=MS 2440 of the East India House—*wrongly described by him at p lrv*), by recording the omissions in either of them, even so far as the omission of a "q" is concerned,—in short, as he gives us in his lengthened and highly valuable extract from the *Kāśikā* a specimen of his editorial character, I considered it my duty to make a comparison of his edition of portion of the *Kāśikā* with the two MSS named and used by him For though I was perfectly well acquainted with his so-called Commentary on Pāṇini, and though it has been my thorough conviction for very many years that his curtailed reprint of the Calcutta edition—I will not qualify it now otherwise—by suppressing important texts and by propagating errors which, even in a reprint, are not excusable, has been more an impediment to a conscientious study of Sanskrit grammar, and of Pāṇini in particular, than his very imperfect commentatorial remarks may have done service to beginners,—though my opinion of the literary activity of Dr Bohtlingk was the result of a careful study of his works, and was by no means founded on occasional errors of his, or formed in disregard of all the difficulties he had to contend with,—in short, though not all the imperfections of his writings—if they amounted only to such—would ever have induced me to stint the share of indulgence which I hold ought to be always and largely awarded to laborious and honest work, whatever be its failings, I have considered it my duty to make this comparison since, within the chain of the peculiar circumstances which weigh on his edition of

sanjñā is here the same as *sanjñāna*, 'understanding' (i.e. a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically). And *Kaivya* enlarges upon these words in the following strain "The question of Patañjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha* and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance

Pāṇini and on some of his other editions, too, the point I wanted to ascertain, once more, did not so much concern a question of scholarship as one of scientific reliability. The result of my comparison was this. Dr Boehtlingk records at his quotation from the *Āśādh* to I 2, 53, the various readings of MS A निर्दिश्यत (for B प्रति निर्दिश्यते), कस्मात् (for B कुत) वरणावर (for B वरणा), लिङ्गवचन (for B लिङ्गवचनञ्च), and यथा च (for B यथा), but he does not say that A reads the last words आपो दारा गृहा सिता (*su*) वर्षा इति—At I 2, 54 he mentions that MS A has omitted the word शब्द, but he does not state that A reads व्यक्त instead of B's reading वक्तव्य, nor that B has a marginal note on the word अपरपानात् which runs thus योगजनपदादे क्षत्रियादिभि सम्बन्धः । तस्याप्रख्यानादनुपपत्त्येतिरर्थः. And he edits on his own authority—without any remark whatever—वृक्षयोग नगर—which is perfectly meaningless—while both MSS read वृक्षयोगनगरे—At I 2, 55, he mentions that A has omitted यदि and तस्य, moreover that B reads क्षत्रियसम्बन्ध जनपद पञ्चालशब्दः । ततो, but he does not say that A omits also योगभावे before तस्य, and adds तत्र before the last words प्रवृत्त इति. And what is much worse, he not only edits तद्यावदेवमनुपगतव्यम्, while both MSS read तद्यावदयमेवामनुपगतव्यम्, but नाय निमित्तकः—which is simple nonsense—while both MSS have the intelligible reading नाय योगनिमित्तकः—At I 2, 56, he observes that इति is omitted in B and तत् in A but he does not mention that instead of B's प्रमाणात्वात् । अथ, etc., A reads प्रमाणत्वादित्यन्थ, etc., nor does he mention that B reads अर्थसिद्धयन किं यत्नेन while A reads अर्थं सिद्धं किं तत्र यत्नः, but, again, he edits, without any remark whatever, अवान्दप्रमाणात्वात्, which is ungrammatical, in spite of the concurrent and correct reading of both MSS अवस्यादप्रमाणात्वात् (or A त्वादिति, see before)—His remarks at I 2, 67, are that A omits त्रयिष्—वन, and that B reads हि (for A च), परिभाषत (for A परिभाषन्ते), and मत्वर्थे (for A अन्यपदार्थे). Yet he does not record the various inaccuracies of A, which are essen-

would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology' 'Understanding,' (as Patañjali paraphrases *saṃjñā*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word, [or it means the words which admit of this mental process] '195

From this rule of Pāṇini and the commentaries alleged we learn therefore —

1 That his Grammar does not treat of those *saṃjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise

tial for those not acquainted with this MS., in order that they may form an opinion on it and on its relation to the readings of B. Thus he omits stating that A reads the commencing words अशिष्यमिति वर्तते, that it omits इदं च कर्तव्यं, and reads पुनरादुरह उभं for B's more correct reading पुनरादु । अहम्. But Dr Bochtlik likewise does not mention that B has a marginal note to the word न्यायवाट, viz., न्यायो (sic) यम, that A reads चाशिष्ये ते for B's वाशिष्ये (in the commencement), that B adds तु after अपरे (last line of his page 48), that A reads तथा चोपसर्जनं for B तथोपसर्जनं (first line of his page 49), and नैव च्युत्वाचते for B न चैव च्युत्वाचने. And to crown the edition of this portion of the excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāśikā-śruti*, which will make all further explanation superfluous," Dr Bochtlik prints without a single remark (p 49, line 4), तथोपसर्जनं मप्रधानमिति गम्यते, when A has the following passage तथोपसर्जनं वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा । उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति गम्यते (sic), whereas B gives the complete sentence in this way तथोपसर्जनम् । प्रस्तावाश्चौचित्याद्देशकालविभागत् । शब्दार्था प्रतीयन्ते न शब्दादेव केवलात् । वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति गम्यते — And such is his edition of even an easy text of a commentary to only five Sūtras of Pāṇini,—of a commentary, too so pompously announced by hims-elf, and laid before the public with so much appearance of care and conscientiousness !

195 Pāṇini, I 2 53 तदशिष्य सगप्रमाणत्वात् —Patañjali: किं वा एता कृत्वादिषुमादिस्वा तत्प्रागाप्यादशिष्यम् । ने वाह । सज्ञान सग —Kaṣyapa: किं वा एता इति । प्रत्यामत्तिन्वायाऽप्ये पञ्च । नेत्यादेति । प्रत्यासत्त सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । न हि णिषुमादिसज्ञाना प्रमाणत्वं युक्तवद्भाष्यशब्दस्याशिष्यत्वं हेतुरूपपद्यते । सम्बन्धाभावात् । सज्ञानमिति । अवगम सम्प्रत्यय इत्यर्थः ।

■ That this term *saṃjñā* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology

3 That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols

4 That such terms as *ti*, *ghu* and *bha*, were known and settled before *Pāṇini's Grammar*, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by *Pāṇini* because they are not etymological terms

Having thus obtained, through the comment of *Patañjali* on the *Sūtra* in question, a means by which to judge of the originality of *Pāṇini's* terms, we must feel induced to test its accuracy before we base our inferences on it, and the opportunity of doing so is afforded not merely by the technical symbols which *Patañjali* himself names,—we easily ascertain that *Pāṇini* has given a definition of them,—but also by another of these important five *Sūtras*. This *Sūtra* (I 2, 56) says “Nor shall I teach the purport of the principal part of a compound (*pradhāna*), or that of an affix (*pratyaya*), because they, too, have been settled by others (*i.e.* people know already from other authorities, that in a compound the sense of the word gravitates towards its principal part, and in derivative towards the affix)”¹⁹⁶

Thus we learn here from *Pāṇini* himself that the term *pratyaya* (affix) was employed before he wrote his work, and if *Patañjali's* interpretation be correct, *Pāṇini*, who also makes use of this term, must have left it undefined, since it has an etymology and was “settled” in his time. And such, indeed, is the case. *Pāṇini* uses the word *pratyaya* many times (*e.g.* I 1, 61 62 69, 2, 41 45, 3, 63 etc), he heads with it a whole chapter which extends over three books of his work, yet he gives no definition whatever of its sense. Finding, then, that *Patañjali's* comment is confirmed by *Pāṇini's* own words, we may proceed, and we then obtain the result that the *Sūtras* employ but do not explain such terms, for instance, as *prathamā* (nominative), *dvītiyā* (accusative), *trītiyā* (instru-

196 *Pāṇini*, I 2, 56 . प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थेनैव च नमस्तद्वान्वयप्रमाणत्वात् There is no *Bhāṣya* on this rule

mental), *chaturthī* (dative), *pañchamī* (ablative), *shashthī* (genitive) and *saptamī* (locative) And the commentators apprise us that these words were technical names used by the eastern grammarians, which are referred to by Pāṇini in some of his rules¹⁹⁷ We likewise meet in his work with such terms as *samāsa* (compound II 1, 3), *tatpurusha* (II 1, 22), *avayavbhāṣa* (II 1, 5), *bahuvrīhi* (II 2, 23), *kṛt* (III 1, 93), *taddhita* (IV 1, 76), etc etc he enumerates all the special compounds or affixes which fall under these heads, but does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names Again, the commentaries, in adverting to them, tell us that the terms expressing compounds, for instance, belong to "older grammarians"

When, on the other hand, we see that he *does* give a definition of *karmadhāraya* (I 2, 42) or of *samyoga* (I 1, 7), or of *anunāsika* (I 1, 8) terms which are conventional and admit of an etymological analysis, we are at once compelled to infer that he was the first who employed these technical names in the sense stated by him And this conclusion would apply with equal force to all other terms of a similar kind which do not merely head an enumeration of rules but are clearly defined by him, e g to *saiarna* (I 1, 9), *pragrhya* (I 1, 11), *lopa* (I 1, 60), *hrasva dirgha pluta* (I 2, 27), *udatta* (I 2, 29), *anudatta* (I 2, 30), *svarita* (I 2, 31), *apṛkta* (I 2, 41), etc etc Nor do I believe that this conclusion becomes invalidated in those instances in which Pāṇini gives a definition, while yet there may be a strong presumption that the term defined was already used in his time, for it seems to me that, in such a case, his definition either imparted an additional sense to the current term, and, in reality thus created a new term of his own, or had a special bearing on the technical structure of his own work When, for instance, he defines the term *dvandva*,¹⁹⁸ though there is a probability

197 II 3, 46 2 3 13 30 7 etc

198 II 2, 29 चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ।

that this term was used by previous grammarians,¹⁹⁹ his definition may have corrected the current notion on the subject implied by it, as I infer from the lengthened discussion of Patañjali. Or, when he uses the term *upasarjana* in one of those five rules already mentioned thus allowing us to conclude that it was a current term in his time,²⁰⁰ and still appears to define it in two other rules,²⁰¹ his definition is in reality no definition at all, it merely instructs the pupil how he may recognise an *upasarjana* rule in his work.²⁰²

199 *Āṣṭādhyāyī* (MS 829, L I II) on I 2, 57 तथा च पूर्वार्था परिभाषन्ते । अन्यपदार्थो बहुवादि । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽभ्ययीमाद । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तु न । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो हन् इत्येवमादि । MS 2440, II I H, reads न-वर्षे instead of अन्यपदार्थो, but both readings are objectionable as we may infer from the *Mahābhāṣya* on II 1, 20 इह कश्चिरसमास पूर्वपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधान etc, and these identical words reoccur in the *Mahābhāṣya* to II 1, 49. Neither of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *aryayībhāṣa*, or *latpuruṣa* is explained by Pāṇini — Compare also note 44, and my Dictionary, s v अन्यपदार्थप्रधान ।

200 I 2, 57 कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ।

201 I 2, 43 प्रथमानिदिष्ट समास उपसर्जनम् — I 2, 44 एकविभक्ति वाच्यनिपात ।

202 In the foregoing remarks I have drawn a distinct line between the definition which Pāṇini gives of a term,—as when he says ‘*abhyasta* are the two syllables constituting a reduplicated base’ (VI 1, 5), or ‘*prātipadika* is that which has a sense but is neither a verbal root nor an affix’ (I 2, 45), and the enumeration he makes (I 3 I), or ‘*pratyaya* (affix) is that which is treated from the beginning of the third book up to the end of the fifth’ (III 1, 1). For I hold that Pāṇini could not, at one time, feel the necessity of defining the linguistic properties of a grammatical category and at another leave unexplained the notion, for instance, of a verbal root, an affix, a particle and so on, while using these terms extensively unless these notions were sufficiently clear at the time he wrote, and his grammatical purposes were attained by stating what application he gave to these terms in his work. An evidence of the plausibility of this view is afforded e.g. by the terms *āmanepada* and *parasmaipada*. In rules VI 3, 7 and 8, Pāṇini mentions that these terms are used by ‘grammarians’ which expression can

To extend this inference to purely grammatical symbols like those mentioned by Patañjali, e g., *gha*, *shash*, *luk*, *slu*, *lup* etc etc, would be wrong, after the remark of this grammarian, for, as we learn from him, that they are not *sanjñās*, in the sense in which Pāṇini uses this word in his rule I 2, 53, we cannot decide to what extent he may have invented these names, or whether he even invented any of them, since Patañjali distinctly tells us, as we have seen, that *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, were terms already known to Pāṇini.

If, then we apply the test we have obtained to the Unnādi-Sūtras, we shall have, in the first place, to observe that the technical, and, the same time, significant names which would fall under the category of Pāṇini's rule (I 2, 53), and which are not only used in, but are indispensable to, the mechanism of these Sūtras are the following *abhyāsa*, *avyaya* *udatta*, *upadhū*, *upasarga* *dirgha* *dhātu*, *pada*, *vrddhi* *lopa* *samprasāraṇa*, *hrasva*²⁰³. Amongst these, Pāṇini gives no definition whatever of *dhātu*, for his explanation is merely an enumeration (I 3, 1), and the same remark applies to *upasarga* (I 4, 59), and perhaps to *vrddhi* (I 1, 1) and *avyaya* (I 1, 37, 38, etc). It is probable, therefore, that Pāṇini did not invent these terms, but referred to them as of current use. On the other hand, he distinctly defines *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *udatta*, *upadhū* *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, and *abhyāsa*²⁰⁴. The term *pada* is also defined by him, but it seems that he merely extended current application for his own purposes, since the commentaries tell us that "the former grammarians" gave a definition of the terms for compounds, and this definition contains the

only mean that they were in use before he wrote, and in rules I 4, 99 and 100 he enumerates the conjugation endings comprised under these denominations, but gives no definition of the terms themselves

203 E g I 12 15 27 32 48 —II 16 59 65 —III 114 —IV 65 146 144 —V 19 etc

204 I 2 27 कृकालोऽङ्गस्वदीर्घमुत्त — 2, 29 उचेशत्त — I 1, 65 अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा — I 1, 60 णदर्शन लोप — I 1, 45 इत्यण सम्प्रसारणम् — VI 1, 4 पूर्वोऽभ्यास (comp also note 44)

word *pada* That the Unnādi-Sūtras contain no definition of any technical word requires no confirmation from me

Now, had Pāṇini not written the five Sūtras (I 2, 53-57) in which he explains the method of his Grammar, or had he explained all the technical terms used by him, the absence of a definition of such terms in the Unnādi-Sūtras would not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as regards the mutual relation of the two works But since we know that Pāṇini does not define all his terms, and, on the other hand, that a treatise like the Unnādi Sūtras uses those terms which are defined by him, and *exactly in the same sense in which they occur in his work*, the only possible conclusion is that this treatise was written later than the Grammar of Pāṇini And this also must have been the opinion of *Ujvaladatta* and *Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita*, for both grammarians, in their comment on an Unnādi-Sūtra, which is an original one, if any be, since it treats of a whole category of Unnādi words, state in the plainest possible language that *this Sūtra is given as one exception to a rule of Pāṇini* ²⁰⁵ Nay, we owe to Dr Aufrecht himself a very interesting passage from *Vimala's Rāpamālā*, which distinctly ascribes the authorship of these Unnādi Sūtras to *Vararuchi* But as *Vararuchi* is a name of Kātyāyana also, ²⁰⁶ this work seems to intimate that Kātyāyana completed the Grammar of Pāṇini, not only in his *Vārttikas*, but in the important work which concerns us here ²⁰⁷

205 Unnādi-Sūtra, IV 226 गतिकारको पूर्वपदप्रहृतिस्वरत्नम् —
Ujvaladatta गतिकारकोपपदात्तत्वे (Pāṇini, VI 2, 139) इत्युत्तरपद
प्रहृतिस्वरत्ने सति शेषस्यानुदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते वचनमिदमारम्भे — Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita
(Siddh. k p 204 b, 1 6) गतिकारकोपपदात्तदित्युत्तरपदप्रहृतिस्वरत्ने सति
शेषस्यानुदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते तदपवादार्थमिदम् ।

206 See also Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 240

207 I subjoin a literal copy of this extract from the edition of Dr
Aufrecht, p ix “उणादयो बहुवचम् । सङ्गानिषये स्युः । ताम्बामन्यत्रोणादयः ।
मम्प्रदानापदानाम्बामन्यस्मिन्नेवार्थे स्युः । लङ्गानुत्तरणोन्नेया (MS लङ्गानुत्तरणोन्नेया)
अनुवन्था उणादियुः । बहुलोक्त्या प्रसाध्यानि तेषु कार्यान्तराणि च । उणादिस्तुटोक्तङ्गाय
वररचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । तद्यथा : कुवापात्रिमिस्त्वदिसाध्वश्चम्य उण् ॥”

Although it follows from all these premises that the *treatise* on the Unnādi-words, the existing collection of Unnādi-Sūtras, is later than the Grammar of Pāṇini, there still remains the question : What relation exists between the latter work and a list of Unnādi-affixes or words which Pāṇini twice quotes in his rules ?

Yāska relates, in an interesting discussion on the derivation of nouns, that there were in India two classes of scholars, the one comprising the *Nairuktas* or etymologists (his commentator *Durga* adds : except *Gārgya*), and the grammarian *Sākāṭyana*, the other consisting of some of the *Vaiyākaranas* or grammarians, and the etymologist *Gārgya*. The former maintained that all nouns are derived from "verbal roots," the latter that only those nouns are so derived in which accent and formation are regular, and the sense of which can be traced to the verbal root, which is held to be their origin. They denied, as Yāska tells us, the possibility of assigning an origin to such words as *go*, "cow", *asva* "horse," *puruṣa* "man" ²⁰⁸. Now, it is this latter description of words which

He adds to this quotation on the following curt rebuke : " This assertion which makes Vararuchi older than Pāṇini, has no claim to probability " But I must ask—Is there one single word in this passage which justifies, in the slightest degree, the stricture passed by Dr Aufrecht on Vimāla ? The latter says : " To illustrate (or to make clear) the Unnādi affixes Vararuchi composed the (Unnādi) Sūtras as a separate work. He draws a distinction therefore as I have already done, between the Unnādi list and the Sūtras on them, but where does he say that Vararuchi is older than Pāṇini ? Dr Aufrecht evidently mistook his own conclusions, quoted above, which precede this passage from Vimāla's *Rāṣamāṇa*, for the opinion of the latter work : Having first established his conclusions in the manner we have seen, he seems never to have doubted that any writer can differ from his view. Therefore when meeting with Vimāla, who reports that Vararuchi is the author of the Unnādi Sūtras, he upbraids this poor grammarian with having made Vararuchi older than Pāṇini.

²⁰⁸ See Roth's *Nirukta*, I 12, Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, § 164, and Aufrecht's *Unnādi-Sūtras*, § vi vii. Yāska according to

is the subject of the Unnādi list : they are the Unnādi words. We must ask, therefore, did Pāṇini belong, as regards his linguistic notions, to the *Nairuktas* or to the "some of the *Vaiyākaranas* ?"

Since the former designation is chiefly applied to the exegetes of the Vaidika texts, and the latter is emphatically used by the grammarians, it seems probable that Pāṇini, in this question of the derivability of Unnādi words, would stand on the side of these *Vaiyākaranas*. And this unquestionably is the opinion of Patañjali, as may be judged from the following facts.—In the rules VII 1, 2, Pāṇini teaches, amongst other things, that when an affix contain the letters *dh*, or *kh*, or *chh*, these letters are merely grammatical symbols, the real values of which are severally *ey*, *in*, *ṛ*. To this rule *Kātyāyana* appends the remark that the Unnādi affixes form an exception, when Patañjali explains this view of the author of the *Vārttikas* by the instances *samkha*, *sandha*, for though these words are formed with the affixes *kha* and *dha*, the letters *dh* and *kh* in their affixes, are real, not symbolical. "And," continues *Kātyāyana*, in two subsequent *Vārttikas*, "though Pāṇini speaks himself, in *Sūtra* III 1, 29, of an affix *ṛang* (not *chhang*, as might be expected according to rule VII 1, 2), this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based on the circumstance that Pāṇini treats in his rule VII 1, 2, not of verbal but of nominal bases." "True," rejoins Patañjali, "but *Kātyāyana* might have spared this discussion, for 'nominal

the present edition, adds to the three instances given the word हस्तिन् also. He can scarcely have meant the word 'elephant, which is not a *kri*, but a regular *saddhita* derivative of *hastā*—nor does this word occur in the Unnādi *Sūtras*. It seems therefore probable that he said, or at least meant, the real Unnādi word *hastā*, "hand." But in *Durga*, too, at all events in the MS. at my command, writes हस्तान्ति. I do not venture upon more than a conjecture that the latter words are to be corrected in the text of the *Nirukta*—हस्त इति ।

conditions to *sh* ²¹³ To all these rules Kātyāyana takes exception by excluding from them the *Unnādi* words. Thus *lantha*, *pantha*, *santha*, are formed with the affix *tha* which does not mean *ika*, *rākā* and *dhākā* retain their long *ā* before the affix *ka* from *jr* is derived *jivr*, not *jiv*, *kiri* and *giri* form their dual *kiryos* and *giryos*, not *kīryos* and *gīryos*, and in the words *krsara*, *dhūsara*, the *s* has not become *sha*, while, on the other hand, this change has taken place in *varsha* and *tarsha*,²¹⁴ though the

213 VIII 3, 29 आदेशप्रत्यययो — Vārttika आदेशप्रत्यययो बत्वे सरक प्रतिषेध — Patañjali आदेशप्रत्यययो बत्वे सरक प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य । ह्रसर । ह्रसर । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते सरक इति — Vārttika सरगादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् — Patañjali इहापि यथा स्वाच् । वर्णम् । नमिति । तत्तद्धि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उष्णादयोऽभ्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि etc (cf Un 5 III 73 62)

214 In the E I H MS of the Mahābhāṣya and in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini the instances to VIII 3, 59, v 2, are वसँ and तसँ (instead of वष and तष), but it is evident that this reading is erroneous, for, in his first Vārttika, Kātyāyana intends to show that Pāṇini's rule is too wide, and, in the second, that it is too narrow, if applied in certain Unnādi words. Compare also the Commentary on the Unnādi-Sūtra III 62 — It is needless to observe once more that in this, as in all similar instances, the reprint of Dr Boehtlingk has simply continued the mistake of the Pandits, though it always assumes the air of having taken its information from the MSS. Thus, in this very Vārttika, the Calcutta edition has a misprint सरकप्रतिषेध, and Dr. Boehtlingk writes — not "the Calcutta edition," but — "Esa vārttika - सरकप्रतिषेध (it)," as if this reading were an original one. But the E I H MS of the Mahābhāṣya reads quite correctly "सरक प्रतिषेध", and Kātyāyana has even a special remark to the effect, that though the Unnādi-Sūtra III 73 (comp also 70) teaches the affix सरन्, the Vārttika and Bhāṣya write सरन् (of which सरक is the genitive), because this affix is विद् viz अशे सरन्नित्यत मन्प्रत्यय (MS "यो" कृष्णमदिभ्य कित्तिपदानुवर्तते (Un. S III 73) । कित्वातिदशाथ कित्वायैलामाद्वाप्यवार्तिकयो सरकप्रतिषेध । In all these instances, and others too (e g to VII 2, 8, v 1 of the Calc ed) E. I H MS of the Mahābhāṣya, and the Calcutta edition — as often as it gives this passage — write उष्णादयोऽभ्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि (the MS of the Mahābhāṣya without the S, the correctness of the

conditions named by Pāṇini in rule VIII 3, 59 would not justify it here. But Patañjali, who supplies us with all these instances, in order to establish, first, the sense of the Vārtikas, always rejects the criticism of Kātyāyana, and defends Pāṇini with the same argument which he used before, viz., in saying that *nominal bases formed with Unnādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin* and therefore do not concern an etymological work like that of Pāṇini.

But if Kātyāyana were really wrong in his censure of Pāṇini, can the argument used by Patañjali in defence of Pāṇini be right? Let us imagine that there existed amongst us two sets of grammarians, the one contending that the words *red bed, shed*, are derived from radicals *re be she*, with an affix *d* and another refuting these etymologists, and asserting that their derivation is absurd, that *red bed, shed* are "bases without a grammatical origin." Is it probable, on the same supposition, that a member of the last-named category, in writing a grammar and in dealing with these words, would ascribe to them an affix *d*? Yet, if Patañjali were right, Pāṇini would belong to this latter category, and he would have committed such an incongruity. He has not only spoken of an Unnādi affix *u* but he calls it by its technical name *un*, which means that he bore in mind a distinct form of a radical, the vowel of which would become subject to the *Vrddhi*

reading given, however, does not only result from the commentaries, but from the Paribhāṣhī works, MS 778 of the Paribhāṣhendusekhara e.g. writes उणादयो भव्यु), when the first word, though literally meaning "the affixes un, etc. has the sense, 'the words formed with the affixes un, etc.' (comp I 1 72), in conformity with the use which Pāṇini makes of the words कृत् and तद्धित (in the masculine gender, e.g. I 1 38, 2, 46 VI 2, 155. Compare also Vaidyanātho's explanation, in note 188. The reading 'उणादीन्यन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि,' which is given by Dr. Aufrecht § vi, I have never met with, though I have frequently met with the phrase quoted above, not only in the grammatical commentaries, but in all the Paribhāṣhī-works, which give it as a Paribhāṣhī I, therefore, very much doubt its correctness, even if it should really be found in any MS

increase if it is joined to this affix *u*. The Unnādi words must, consequently, have been to Pāṇini words in which he perceived a real affix and a real radical,— words, in short, with a distinct etymology. There is other evidence to the same effect besides the two rules of his which contain the word *unnādi*. In rule VII 2, 9, he mentions the affixes *tī, tu, tra, ta, tha, si, su, sara, ka, sa*, all these are Unnādi affixes, and consequently represent to him as many radicals as are capable of being combined with them for the formation of nominal bases.²¹⁵ That there is a flaw in the defence of Patañjali, must have been already perceived by *Kaṣyapa*, for this commentator tries to reconcile the fact I have pointed out with the assertion of Patañjali. I will quote his words, but merely to show that it was a desperate case to save Pāṇini from the Nairukta school, and to give him the stamp of a pure-bred Vāyākaraṇa. On the Patañjali's commenting on the Vārttika to VIII 3, 59, and repeating the remark already mentioned, *Kaṣyapa* says "Though the Unnādi words have been derived for the enlightenment of the ignorant, their formation is not subject to the same grammatical influence as it would be if they had an origin," and, after having endeavoured to prove the correctness of this view through rule VIII 3, 46, he winds up with the following words "Therefore in the Unnādi formations, *ksara* etc, *sara* etc do not fall under the technical category of affixes, so that the rule which concerns the change of an affixal *s* to *ś*, would have to be applied in their case."²¹⁶

215 VII. 2, 9 नितुत्रनयमिमुसरक्तेषु च ।

216. Patañjali to VIII 3, 59 (comp. note 213) उष्णादयोऽभ्युपगानि प्रातिपदिकानि — *Kaṣyapa* ॥ उष्णादय इति । अबुधबोधनाय व्युत्पाद्यमाना अभ्युष्णादयो व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तं कार्यं न लभन्ते । अत्र कृत्रिमिकमेत्यत्र (VIII 3, 46) पृथक्कमप्रदशाद् । न वा प्रादिति वत्त -बुधपक्षितेन उष्णादीनामवदवाम्युपेयम् । मयि वा वृत्त इत्यादिभिर्द्वयैर्मित्यर्थः । एव नहीति कृत्रमादिषु वत्ते कर्तव्ये प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न भवति — I here subjoin the interesting comment of Śīradasa, in his *Paribhāṣāṭīkā* (MS E I H 593), on this *Paribhāṣā*, as it is appealed to by other authors of *Paribhāṣā*-works उष्णादयोऽभ्युपगानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥ अत्र चार्थोऽप्यवत्सूत्रप्रणयनादस्तात्थाद् । अन्यथा सर्वेषामुष्णादीनां वतुजत्वे कृदन्तत्वात्प्रातिपदियमहासिद्धौ नत्र कुर्व्यात् । अथैव तत्र कृत्रमत्वम् (VIII 3, 46) वमिप्रदण इत्या वमप्रदणादेना

That Kātyāyana, when he found fault with Pāṇini, must have taken my view, is obvious. He must have looked upon Pāṇini as judging of the Unnādi words in the same way as Śākatāyana did; otherwise his '*pratishedhas*' exceptions, or even his additions to the rules in question, would have been as irrelevant as if he had increased them with matter taken from medicine or astronomy.

The conclusion, however, at which I have thus been compelled to arrive, viz., that Pāṇini shared in the linguistic principles of Śākatāyana, is of importance, if we now consider the relation in which he is likely to have stood to the original Unnādi list and to the criticisms of Kātyāyana.

Nāgojibhatta who wrote notes on Kaiyāṭa's gloss on Patañjali, conjectures from the Kārikā to III 3, 1, that the Unnādi Sūtras were the work of Śākatāyana.²¹⁷ His conjecture rests on the statement of Yāska, alluded to by Patañjali, that this grammarian contended for the possibility of deriving all nominal bases from verbal roots. Now, I have shown before, that the opinion of Nāgojibhatta cannot be adopted so far as the Sūtras are concerned for they were written after Pāṇini's work, and Śākatāyana wrote before Pāṇini.²¹⁸ It may, at first sight, however, appear to be consistent with fact, if only the Unnādi list were meant, for Śākatāyana's views such as would admit of nominal derivation by means of Unnādi affixes. Yet, since Nāgoji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the Unnādi list is of

माहुः । तेन कृमुदुभिदिभ्यश्च (sic comp Un III 142) इ किञिनाकार-
प्रत्ययान्तया किञिगितिङ्-द्वयोराभि यष्णादेशे कृते धातुत्वाभावाद्वा चेति (VIII.
2, 77) दीर्घ व न भवति । किर्यो । गिर्योरिति । एच्च न सम्भक् । अच परस्मिन्निति ।
(1 1, 57) रगनिवत्तदोर्षाप्रमद्वा । न चास्ति दार्ढ्यनिधिं प्रति न रगनिवदिति ।
स्वरदार्ढ्यलोपेषु लोपावादेश एव न रगनिवदिति वचनात् (comp I 1, 58) ।
यथा प्रतिनीतेति । एव तद्दि जोर्यतेरातोर्षायेन किन् रश्च व इति (Un S V 49)
नि-प्रत्यय इत्ये रपरत्वे च रेःस्व उकारे कृते ऋजिगिति धातुत्वाभावाद्वाच्यं न भवतीति ।

217 See also Dr Aufrecht's Preface to the Un S p vii, where the Commentary of Nāgojibhatta is quoted and translated by him.

218 See note 97

Pāṇini's authorship. Indeed, how could Kātyāyana take exception to the technical application or to the working of a rule of Pāṇini's and supply this defect by pointing to the Unnādi list, unless he looked upon Pāṇini as being the author of both? Had he thought that the Unnādi list was written by Śākatāyana, he would have laid himself open to serious reflections, in censuring the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini for not fitting the system of Śākatāyana. We might make an assumption, it is true, by which we could reconcile Śākatāyana's authorship of the Unnādi list with Kātyāyana's strictures on Pāṇini, — the assumption that Pāṇini's work represented, as it were, besides its own property, that of Śākatāyana's too, — that both grammarians owned one set of technical signs, and that perfect unanimity reigned between their works. The *Ganaratna mahodadhī* of Vardhamāna gives numerous quotations from the Grammar of Śākatāyana, but as several of them merely give the substance of his rules, it would scarcely be safe to judge of his system on the authority of this valuable Gana work.²¹⁹ Unless, therefore,

219 Relative to this work which is of the greatest importance for the study of Sanskrit grammar, Dr. Bohtlingk gives the following information (vol. II, p. xxxix — xli) — "A third work, which contains the *Ganas*, = the *Gana-ratna mahodadhī* (the great Ocean of the Gana-pearls) In London there exist two MS. copies of this work: the one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the other in that of the East India House. [He adds some remarks on the age of the former MS., and continues] The work consists of eight chapters (अष्टाध्याय) and about 450 double verses. Its author is Śrī-Vardhamāna, a pupil of Śrī-Govinda, and, as it is stated in the introductory verses, it owes its origin to the request of his pupils, three of whom he names in the commentary on his work, viz., Kumārapāla Haripāla, and Munīcandra. Text and commentary are so corrupt in both Manuscripts, that at the very best only a tolerable text could be made up. Besides, this collection was not intended for the work of Pāṇini, but for some more modern grammar. There occur *Ganas* in it which are neither mentioned in the *Sūtras* nor in the *Vṛttikas*. Then, again, we find two *Ganas* which are separate in our collection [Dr. B. means the *Ganas* edited by him] combined into one, when the derivatives formed according to two different rules, differ from

it can be shown that there was no difference whatever and, much more so, if it can be shown that there *was a difference* between the technical method of both these grammarians, common sense would lean in favour of the conclusion that Kātyāyana, in his Vārttikas, hit at but one of his predecessors, and that this predecessor was the author as well of the eight grammatical books as of the Unnādi list, — PĀNINI

one another only in accent. The various readings of the *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi* (G R M) I have indicated merely at the Gana गणराति "—To this statement I have to append the following remarks —

1 When Dr Boehtlingk tells the public that there are but two MS copies of this work in London, his readers will no doubt believe, if they believe him,—indeed they cannot draw any other inference from his words than—that there are in London only two texts of the *Ganas* collected by Vardhamāna in his work, the *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi*. I cannot suppose that there can be any one who would interpret the meaning of his words in the sense that there are only two catalogued Nos of this work in the libraries he is speaking of. Yet I am compelled to take this favourable—though very unreasonable—view of his statement, in order not to be compelled to qualify it otherwise. For, the fact is that the bound volume No 949 of the Library of the B I M, which he is speaking of, is indeed, one volume only, but contains *two distinct copies* of the work in question, written in *different* handwritings and constituting, therefore, *two separate MSS*. These, added to the copy in the R A S form therefore, at first sight, *three MSS*, not *two*, as he says. But I should trifle with my readers if I considered this correction as sufficient to illustrate the character of Dr Boehtlingk's statement. The first MS of No 949 contains the text of the *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi* only, on 30 leaves. The second MS of the same No 949 which is a commentary, by the same author, on his work, contains, first the text, and afterwards the comment, which repeats every word of the text, either literally or impliedly, by stating the derivatives from the word or words as they occur in the text. The same method is observed in the MS belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. Hence we possess, in London, not *two texts*, nor yet *three*, but in reality *five* texts of this work.

2 The MSS in question are, no doubt, open to correction as, indeed, probably every Sanskrit MS in existence is, but I hold that at all events

The proof that such a difference existed between Pāṇini and Śākatāyana, indeed, between him and all the grammarians who preceded his work, is afforded by a statement of Patañjali which is so important that it settles definitely, not only the question of the authorship of the Unnādi list, but of all the other works which follow the *anubandha* terminology of Pāṇini

the ancient copy of the R A S will, in spite of its inaccuracies, be ranked by every one conversant with MSS, amongst *the best Sanskrit MSS in existence*. And having considered it incumbent on me to study this book carefully, I have no hesitation in maintaining that even a tolerable Sanskrit scholar would be able to make a perfectly good edition of at least the text of this work, with the aid of these five copies of the text, the two copies of the commentary, and, as a matter of course, with the aid that may be got from Pāṇini and his commentaries

3 As to the nature of this work I must allow the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the credit that may be attached to the information given by Dr Boehtlingk, when I state that there is not one single Gana in the Gana-ratna-mahodadhī, the contents of which may not be referred either to Pāṇini's Sūtras or to the Vārtukas of Kāśikā, etc., and the commentaries on them, or to the Ganas connected with these works though the latter frequently do not contain so much matter as the Ganas of Vardhamāna who is later, and, as we may expect, made his own additions to previous lists. The substance of its Ganas increased sometimes in the manner stated is often contained in several rules of, and in the commentaries on, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana which have been brought into Gana shape, while, at other times, several of its Ganas, also increased, as the case may be, differ from the Ganas to Pāṇini merely in so far as the heading word of the one occurs in the middle of the other, and *vice versa*. Thus the two combined Ganas वृष्ठादिपात्रादी of the G R M do not occur in the Ganas to Pāṇini, but give the substance of Pāṇini's Sūtra, and the commentaries on IV I, 42, its Gana वृष्ठादिपात्रादी that of the commentaries on II I, 62, मनन्निवादि that of the comm on II I, 66, समुदादि that of the comm on II I 43, नभ्राटादि that of VI 3, 76, व्यासादि that of Vārtuka I to IV I 97, वेत्तरादि that of IV 2, 39 40, अज्जिदि that of Vārtukas to V I, 77 क्रयादि that of IV 3 72, etc — On the other hand, the Gana of the G R M उत्थापनादि is equivalent to the Gana to Pāṇini अनुप्रवचनादि (V I, III), its Gana देवजनादि to अवातर

In his comment on the Sutra VII 1, 18, which makes use of the technical declension affix *aun* (= *au*), he shows that the mate letter *n* has none of the properties which inhere in this

दाक्षदि (V 1, 94 v 3), नृपत्यादि to अक्षरत्यादि (IV 1 84) इन दि to आरुषादि (V 2 64) शिशुक दादि to इन्द्रजननादि (IV 3 88), वरणादि to कुमुदादि (IV 2, 80), भिषादि to ण्डिकादि (IV 3 45), etc etc — There are omitted *on principle*, in the G R M, all the Ganas (1) which have reference to the enumeration of affixes, *e g.* नसिन्नादि, नगादि etc, (2) of radicals which are referred to by Pāṇini in rules on *conjugation*, such as न्नादि, भदादि etc, यनादि, पुषादि, etc, (3) those which concern Vaidika words, and (4) those appended to Pāṇini's rules on *accentuation*. — Of other Ganas to Pāṇini and the Vārtikas, mentioned in the Kāśikā, Siddhānta kaumudī and the Gana lists, which do not fall under any of these categories, there are omitted in the G R M the Ganas to Pāṇini or the Vārtikas भावादि (III 3, 84 v 1), इवादि (V 2, 29 v 5), उपकुवादि (IV 3, 58, v 1) जलादि (IV 2, 51 v 1), यवादि (III 3, 3), दूषादि (IV 2, 51 v 2), नावादि (III 3, 17 v 2), निष्कादि (V 1, 20), न्यङ्कादि (VII 3, 53), पाषादि (III 2, 15 v 1), प्रहत्यादि (II 3, 18 v 1), प्रतिवेशादि (VI 3, 122 v 3) प्रादि (I 4 58), प्लहादि (IV 3, 164), भववादि (V 3, 14 v 1), भीमादि (III 4, 74), युवादि (VIII 4, 11 v 1), यौधेयादि (IV 1, 178, V 3, 117), रसादि (V 2, 95), वरणादि (IV 2, 82), निम्नकादि (VI 4, 153), वृत्तादि (V 3, 66 v 5), शाकपाथिवादि (II 1, 59 v 1), मरुलादि (IV 2, 76), सरस्वादि (IV 1, 35), सरनादि (VIII 3, 110), सुवास्वादि (IV 2, 77), स्त्रोकादि (VI 3, 2), इरीनक्यादि (IV 2, 167), and perhaps वृद्धादि (IV 1, 45), since only some words of this Gana are included in the Gana of the G R M शोणदि — These omissions will be excused, if a report, current at Benares, be true, that the author died before he completed his work, but I have no doubt, whether this report be true or not, that they will be looked upon with the *greatest indulgence* by Dr Boehtlingk, as he himself, in his so-called "Alphabetical Ganapāṭha," has omitted *not less than about 90 ganas* to the Sūtras and Vārtikas

4 That a work so conscientiously described by Dr Boehtlingk can have no value in his eyes is very obvious. Others, however, may think differently, when they become acquainted with the real character of the *Gana-raṅga-mahādāṭh*. Its Ganas, as I mentioned before, are all based on rules of Pāṇini, which very frequently are literally quoted for their

anubandha in the system of Pāṇini : After some discussion on the various modes in which this *anubandha* could be dealt with,

authority, while even, when they are not literally quoted, the reference made to their contents plainly shows their close relation to them. The commentary not only enumerates every derivative formed—thus securing in most instances, beyond a doubt, the reading of the text,—but often gives instance from other works—grammatical, lexicographical, and poetical, several not yet published, as, for instance, those of *Gaṇa*, *Chandra*, *Jayaditya*, *Jinendrabuddhi*, *Durga*, *Bhoja*, *Śkatiyana*, *Halayudha*, etc. And, above all, it supplies us with the meanings of a considerable portion of such *Gaṇa*-words as have been hitherto either not understood at all, or understood imperfectly. Of the 12,000 words, and upwards, which I have collected from this work for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, there are at least 3,000 which would fall under the latter category, and they have signally avenged themselves on the detractor of this work, as, in his own Dictionary, he is now compelled to leave, in a great many instances, a very telling blank space, which would have been filled up if he had really read the *Gaṇa ratna-mahodadhī*, while in other instances he would have obtained additional meanings to those which he assigns to certain words. When I mention, moreover, that this *Gaṇa ratna-mahodadhī* is the only known work in existence which gives a commentary on the *Gaṇas* to, or connected with, Pāṇini—so obscure in many respects,—comprising also, as I before observed, many *Sūtras* of, and *Vṛttikas* to Pāṇini, and when, thus, it becomes evident that a conscientious editor of Pāṇini ought to have eagerly availed himself of the instruction afforded him by this unique work, it will, perhaps, be intelligible why a certain Nemesis has induced Dr Boehr-lingk to divert the attention of the scientific public from the MSS of this work, by describing their condition and contents as he has done. As a matter of curiosity, I may, in conclusion, add, that the only *Gaṇa* of the G R M, the various readings and meanings of which he has registered in his "Alphabetical *Gaṇapāṭha*—the *Gaṇa कण्ठवार्ति* occurs very near the end of the whole work, viz., at fol 28, in the text of MS 949 of the E I H, which ends on fol 30, and at fol 119 of the combined text and commentary of the same MS, which ends on fol 121. In the palm-leaf MS of the R A S, which ends on fol 178, this *Gaṇa* stands at fol 168. The title of a Sanskrit book, I need not mention, is always given at the end of a manuscript.

so as not to interfere with the consistency of the method of Pāṇini, he concludes with the following words "Or this rule belongs to ■ Sūtra of a former grammarian, but whatever *anubandhas* occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian they have no *anubandha* effect in this work "

Hence we learn from Patañjali, who ■ the very last author that can be suspected of having made such an important assertion without a knowledge of the works anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini, that, though Pāṇini adopted from his predecessors such technical symbols as *u ghu bha*, and though he availed himself of other terms of theirs which have a meaning and an etymology (see page 184),—he did not adopt their technical *anubandhas*, and if he avails himself of such an *anubandha*, as that in rule VII 1, 18, we must look upon it as a quotation made by him, but not as influencing the rule in which it occurs ²²⁰

Now, all the Unnādi affixes have *anubandhas*, which are exactly the same, and have the same grammatical effect, as those used by Pāṇini. They cannot be later than his work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for Patañjali says that "whatever *anubandhas* occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work " Consequently the Unnādi list must be of Pāṇini's own authorship

Having settled this point, we may now ask, whether the criticisms of Kātyāyana do not lead to a further inference? When Kātyāyana finds fault with Pāṇini for having overlooked the fact that the vowel *ā* remains long in *rāka*, *dhāka*, or for having given an inadequate rule for such derivations as *krsara* and *dhārsara*, *varsha* and *tarsha*, such criticism applies to omissions which may occur in the case of an author, even a

220 VII 1, 18 श्रीह भाष — Patañjali (towards the end of his discussion) यत्रा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रे च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिद्वेदकायाणि क्रियन्ते — *harīyaṣa* अथनेति पूर्वाचार्यैर्द अपि दिवचने द्विती पठिते न चेद् कचिदप्यो कप्रत्ययो विदिते सामान्यग्रन्थार्थे च पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देश etc — For पूर्वसूत्र, compare also note 46

Pāṇini But when he reproaches him with having spoiled the consistency of his *anubandhas* — so dear to a Hindu grammarian — this blemish seems to me so important, and would probably appear so much more important to a Hindu Pandit, that it compels my conclusions to take another course. For it was obviously so easy for him to modify his rules VII 1, 2, and VII 3, 50, in order to meet the objections raised by Kātyāyana, — to do, in other words, that which he has done in an analogous case,²²¹ and the matter he is reproached with in the Vārttikas must have been so deeply impressed on his mind that it seems almost impossible not to draw another result from the strictures of Kātyāyana. And this result is no other than that either the words which are alluded to by the author of the Vārttikas in these criticisms did not yet exist when Pāṇini wrote, or that they had in his time another etymology than that stated by Kātyāyana. And if this view be correct, it would also add another fact to those I have advanced in favour of the argument that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana cannot have been contemporaries.

The passage just now quoted from Patañjali's Great Commentary, and the conclusions which had to be drawn from it, enable us at once to see that Pāṇini must also have been the author of the Dhātupāṭha frequently referred to in his rules. This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini's Grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works. According to Patañjali's statement, therefore, the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini cannot have

221 Nominal bases derived with the *kyt* affixes *वृच्* or *वृन्* have certain properties of declension which are taught by Pāṇini. The Uṇiḍi say (II 96) that some of the bases नमृ, नेष्टृ, स्वष्टृ, होष्टृ, पोष्टृ, भ्राष्टृ, जामातृ, माष्टृ, विष्टृ दुहिष्टृ are derivatives formed with *वृच्* and others with *वृन्*. But since all of them do not share in the declension properties of the *वृच्* and *वृन्* bases, Pāṇini gives a rule, VI 4, 11, which obviates an objection that might have been made, like that brought forward by Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas to VII 1, 2 and VII 3, 50.

been arranged by any one else than Pāṇini.²²² Whether another Dhātupāṭha existed previously to Pāṇini does not concern us here, since it is not known to us, nor does it belong to my present purpose to examine whether the Dhātupāṭha which has reached us has received additions from those who wrote, and commented on it, *and if so, to what extent*. There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list as in the case of all other Ganas, and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāṭhas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pāṇini, since there is no *direct* evidence to show that Pāṇini did more than arrange this list with the *anubandhas* attached to the radicals. All these questions, however, are foreign to the present subject. It is quite enough for the settlement of this question that the groundwork of the only Dhātupāṭha we now possess, is, like the groundwork of the Unnādi list, the work of Pāṇini.

The problem which concerns the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, more especially those of the *R̥gveda* and the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, has a still greater claim to our attention than that discussed in the foregoing remarks.²²³

222 Compare my previous observations at pages 88-90 and the following pages.

223 I can here only speak of those two *Prātiśākhya*s which have become generally accessible — the *R̥k Prāt* through the valuable and learned edition of Mr. Regnier, and the *Vājasaneyi Prāt* through that of Professor Weber — because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the two others, which are not yet published, and are not met with in the libraries of London, so as to feel justified in uttering opinions which I could not fully substantiate. But as I have no ground for doubting the *matter-of-fact* statements concerning these two latter works for which we are indebted to the industry of Professor Weber in his preface to his edition of the *Vājasaneyi Prāt*, I should infer from them that the *Atharva-veda Prāt* must be more recent than the *R̥k Prāt*, and that, in all probability, the *Taittiriya Prāt* also is posterior to the same *Prātiśākhya*. So far, therefore, as this latter inference — but this latter

The immediate connection of these grammatical writings with the collections of Vaidika hymns, gives to them an appearance of importance which some may deny to the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Unnādi* list. Besides, the speculations to which they have been subjected by several authors show that in spite of the seeming unanimity of their results, there is no work of Hindu antiquity which has caused more uncertainty, as respects the question of date, than these *Prāṭisākhya* works.

There are, I conceive, two ways in which the solution of the problem of which I am here speaking, may be attempted, the one *literary*, the other *historical*. But before I offer from the evidence at my disposal such facts as may enable us to arrive at a settled conclusion on this point, it is my duty to state the prevalent opinion as to the relation of these works to Pāṇini, and the reasons with which this opinion has hitherto been supported. I take for this purpose the works of those authors who have dealt more comprehensively than others with subjects which concern the Vaidika literature, and whose conclusions express, I believe, on this point, the creed of actual Sanskrit philologists.

Professor Müller writes in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (p 120*), as follows :— ‘ The real object of the *Prāṭisākhyas*, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vaidika period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The *Prāṭisākhyas* are never called *Vyākaranas*, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pāṇini’s Grammar is built is no doubt taken from the *Prāṭisākhyas*, but the sources of Pāṇini’s strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere ”

infer not only — is concerned, and with all the reservation which is implied by the source whence my information has been obtained, I shall feel free to speak of all the *Prāṭisākhyas*. Otherwise I shall merely treat of the two former.

* Vide p 106—Chowkhamba Edition

Thus, according to this author, all the Prātiśākhya "no doubt" preceded Pāṇini's Grammar, and we must infer, too, from Professor Muller's words, that he meant by Prātiśākhya those either edited or preserved in MSS, since his conclusions cannot consistently have been founded on any imaginary Prātiśākhya which may or may not have preceded those that we now possess, — which may or may not have dealt with the same subjects in the same manner as the works we are here alluding to. Nor can it have been his object merely to state what is sufficiently known, that there were other grammarians, though not authors of Prātiśākhya, before Pāṇini who gave rules on Vaidika words, since Pāṇini himself makes mention of them.

Professor Roth whom we have to thank for an edition of Yaska's Nirukta, states his view to the same effect in the following words ²²⁴ "Grammar, therefore, took the same natural course of development as we find it has taken elsewhere. It did not proceed from the foundation of the living language, but owed its origin to the observation of that difference which exists between certain forms of language in the actual intercourse of life and those of written works, and, at first, it confined itself to pointing out chiefly these differences. Then, again, it comprised, not the whole mass of literature, but only single books, especially important to certain classes of society (*einzelne in den betreffenden Kreisen besonders wichtige Bücher*). Thus the path was opened to a general grammar treating as well of written as of spoken language, we meet this first in Pāṇini, and from this time all those special grammars gradually disappear from general use."

There is but one thing wanting to this very interesting statement of Professor Roth's, viz. that he should inform us whence he obtained this invaluable historical account of the rise and progress of Sanskrit grammar. No doubt he has some voucher of high authority for the important fact that grammar began and proceeded in India in the manner he describes, and that

²²⁴ In the Preface to his edition of the Nirukta, p. xlii — The original text of this quotation, it is superfluous to mention, is in German and in very good German, too.

these special grammars, the *Prātisākhya*s, which he enumerates immediately afterwards, were the pioneers of Pānini's work. But as he has forgotten to give us the name of his authority, we must, for the present at least, be permitted to look upon this graphic narration of his as a contribution to Vaidika poetry.

Professor Weber, with a caution that almost startles one in so bold a writer, who, as we have seen above (p 84), has witnessed the progress of the Āryans in their conquest of India 1500 B. C., does not sweep over *all* the *Prātisākhya*s with his chronological brush, but merely records his views of the relation of Pānini to one of them, the *Prātisākhya* of Kātyāyana, or that of the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*.

"We now come to Pānini himself," he says in his preface to his edition of this work, "that is to say (*"resp"*), to the description of the relations which exist between him and the *Vāj Prāt*. These relations are, on the one hand, very close,—since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pānini, and since the *Vāj Prāt*, like Pānini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology, but, on the other hand, there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the *Ath Prāt* with that of Pānini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*zum teil ganz*) differs from it. The particulars on this point are the following—There correspond with Pānini—*sim* I, 27, *ān* VI, 24 (MS *A*, however, reads merely *ā*), *luk* III, 12, *lup* I, 114 (*ḥlup*—"resp"—*lopa* occur several times, but already, too, in the *Rk Prāt* and *Taitt Prāt*), the use of *t* in *et* and *ot*, I, 114, IV, 58, may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, *upapadam* VI, 14 23, *yadvrttam* VI, 14 (compare Pān, VIII 1,48, *kimvrtta*), *anudesa* I, 843, *dhātu*, verbal root, V, 10, *anyataratas* V, 15 (Pān. *anyatarasyām*) *linga*, gender, IV, 170 (only in *BE*), *sāhjanā* IV, 96 — But there belong exclusively to the *Vāj Prāt*, and there have been no where shown to exist the algebraic terms *sim* I, 44, IV, 50, for the eight simple vowels, *jit* I, 50, 167 III, 12 IV 118, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *h*), *mud* I, 52 III, 8, 12, IV, 119 for *ś*,

śh s, dhu I, 53 IV, 35 37 117, for the sonant sounds, and to these may be added — *bhāvin* I, 46 III, 21, 55 IV, 33 45 VII, 9, for the designation of all vowels except *ā rit = riphita* IV, 33 VI, 9, and *sankrama* III, 148, IV, 77 165, 194, for they, too, are peculiar to the Vāj Prāt alone

“ If thus, then, the independence of this Prāt of Pāṇini be vouched for with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), we shall be able to look upon the numerous literal coincidences between both, either as [the result of their] having drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pāṇini having borrowed [them] from the Vāj Prāt, just as we have the same choice in the case of the rules which are common to the Kāṭiya-śrautasūtra I 8, 19 20, and Pān I 2, 33, 34 In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also Vāj Prāt I 130) but in our present case I should myself, indeed, rather (*in der tat eher*) prefer deciding for Pāṇini's having borrowed [them] immediately [from the Vājasaneyi-Prātśākhya], on account of the great speciality of some of these rules. For, a certain posteriority (*eine gewisse Posteriorität*) of the latter — independently of [his] having much more developed the algebraic terminology — seems to me to result with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), from the circumstance also, that the pronunciation of the short *a* was in his time already so much (*bereits so sehr*) *saṃvrta*, covered, that he does not make this vowel, but *u*, the type of the remaining vowels, whereas the Vāj Prāt (and likewise the Ath Prāt), it is true, agree with him in the *saṃvratā* of the vowel *a*, but still retain it as the purest vowel, compare the note to I, 72 But it is true that local differences might have been the cause of this, since Pāṇini seems to belong to the North-West, but the Vāj Prāt to the East of India

“For the posteriority of the Vāj Prāt to Pāṇini (*für eine Posteriorität des Vāj Pr nach Pāṇini*) it might be alleged, at the very utmost (*hochstens*) that the author of the Vārttikas to Pāṇini bears the same name as the author of the Vāj Prāt There are, indeed, between both some direct points of contact,— comp III 13 41 46, — but then again there are also direct

differences, comp (III 85) IV 119 In general, immeness of names, like that of Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons [who bore them], there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family or ("resp") were followers of the same school, — the Katās

"Amongst the Sūtras which are identical in the Vāj Prāt, and in Pānini, we must now point out, first, some general rules which are of the greatest importance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and which, indeed, are of so special a nature that they seem to claim with a tolerable amount of force (mit ziemlicher Entschiedenheit) [the assumption of the one] having borrowed from the other They are the three following (called *paribhūṣhū* by the scholiast to Pānini) *tasminniti nirdishte pūrvasya*, Vāj Prāt I, 34 Pān I, 66, — '*tasmādityuttarasyādeh*', Vāj Prāt I 135 Pān I 1, 67 (without *ādeh*, but see 54), — '*śhashthi sthāneyogā*', Vāj Prāt I, 136 Pān I 1, 49 — There are very remarkable also '*samkhyātūnām anudeśo yathāsamkhyam*' Vāj Prāt I 143, compared with Pān I 3, 10 '*yathāsamkhyam anudeśah samānām*', and '*vipratishedha uttaram balavad alope*', I, 159, compared with '*vipratishedha param kārjam*', Pān I 4, 2 But both [passages] do not require [the supposition of] such a special relation (beide bedingen indess nicht ein so specielles Verhältniss), for they might be brought home to a common source in the general grammatical tradition (sondern konnten auf gemeinsame Quelle in der allgemeinen grammatischen Tradition zurückgeführt werden) (the *sāmānyam* of the Ath Prāt I, 3, '*evam iheti ca vibhāṣhā-prūptam sāmānye*) . Likewise, *varnasyādarsanam lopah* I, 141, Pān I 1, 60 (without *varnasya*), — '*uccair udāttaḥ — nicair anudāttaḥ*' — '*ubhayaṭān svaritah* I, 108–110, Pān I 2, 29–31 (where *samāhūrah* stands for *ubh*), — '*tasyādita udātta svarārdhamātram*', I, 126, Pān I 2, 32 (where *ardha hrasvam*), — '*udāttaḥ cāundātta svaritam — nodātta-svaritodayam* IV, 134 140, *udāttaḥ anudāttaḥ svaritah — nodātta svaritodayam*', Pān VIII 4, 66 67, — '*samāna sthāna-karāṇāṣya-prayātṇah savarnah*', I 45, '*tulyāṣya-prayātṇam savarnam*', Pān I 1, 9, — '*āsīd itī cottaram vicāre*, II, 53, *uparī svīd āsīd itī ca*, Pān VIII 2, 102 (97), — '*nus cāmredite* IV, 8, *kan āmredite*', Pān VIII 3, 12 –

There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them], for instance, IV, 49 (Pān VI 1, 84), VI, 19-23 (Pān. VIII 1, 58-63) which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject. In some of these instances the Vāj Prāt is decidedly inferior (*steht entschieden zuruck*) to Pāṇini (comp the note to II, 19-20). Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pāṇini,²²⁵ but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or (*"resp"*) probably want of practice of the author (*vgl. indess auch das bereits im Eingange p 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp wohl Ungeubtheit des Vfs im Allgemeinen Bemerkte*). In most instances, however, from being restricted to the one text of the Vājas—Samhitā, he is in a better position than Pāṇini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock, and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision (*bahulam*) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp the notes to II, 30-55 III, 27-95 IV, 58)²²⁶

225 The words of the text are "Die grammatische Fixirung scheint eben daselbst noch nicht zu der in Pāṇini repräsentirten Uebersicht und systematischen Vollkommenheit gelangt gewesen zu sein." I confess my utter inability to guarantee the correctness of the translation of this passage. What is the "grammatical fixing" and of what? I have assumed that these words may have been intended for 'terminology', but for aught I know they may mean anything else. And what 'survey' is represented in Pāṇini?

226 *Indische Studien*, vol IV pp 83-86. Once more, and considering the possibility of a reproach which may be made to my translation of his words I must express the conviction that I have not only brought the original before the English reader literally and faithfully, but even favourably. Professor Weber's mode of composition, in all his writings, is not only grammatically incorrect and illogically elliptical, but devoid of the very smallest amount of that care which every reader is entitled to expect in his author. I could have wished that he, not I, had been compelled to undergo the agony of rendering his original into English with a view of combining the consideration due to my readers

Two distinct reasons have induced me to give a full hearing to Professor Weber on this important question. I do so, in the first place, because the lengthened passage I have quoted from his Preface to the *Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya*—in my opinion, his most important literary work—is a thorough specimen of the manner and of the critical method—of the scholarship also, as I shall show hereafter—in which he deals with, and which he brings to bear on, all his learned investigations, in the second place, because to give him a hearing at all—and his great industry and his merit of having touched, with no inconsiderable damage to himself, upon all the burning questions of ancient Sanskrit literature, entitles him to one—was to give him a full hearing, in the fullness of all his words. For, though it be possible to perceive the qualities of a clear spring by taking a draught from it, however small, a whirlpool can only be appreciated by seeing it entire and in the condition in which it happens to exist.

If I had attempted, for instance, to maintain that Professor Weber looks upon the algebraic terminology of Kātyāyana's *Prātisākhya* and Pānini's Grammar, "on the one hand as very close to, and on the other hand as thoroughly differing from, one another" (p. 186, lines 15-21), he would have justly upbraided me with not representing him faithfully, for he really says the one differs "partly thoroughly" from the other. Again, should I have ventured upon the statement that he considers Pānini's work as later than this *Prātisākhya*, because he says that it has borrowed a good deal from it, he would have pointed at p. 187, line 18, where he speaks of a "certain posteriority" of Pānini, which kind of posteriority is just as intelligible to my mind as the answer which some one, whom I asked about his travels, gave me, viz., that he had been, but not exactly, on the Continent. Or, if I had said that his chief argument for this "certain posteriority" is the difference in the pronunciation of the short *ā*, between Pānini and Kātyāyana, since this difference led to his conclusion with "a tolerable amount with a scrupulous faithfulness in the version of his words and thoughts. The words between [] have been added by me in order to make something like sense of some of his sentences."

of certainty" (p 205, line 22), he would reply "You are mistaken I stated that this difference may have been caused by local reasons (line 29), it has, therefore, not the slightest conclusiveness " Or if I gave his opinion on the relative proficiency of both authors to this effect, that he considers the Vājasaneyi Prātisākhya as being "*decidedly inferior*" (p 207, line 6) in this regard to Pāṇini's work, he would have pointed to line 18, in showing me how much I erred in attributing to him the idea of such "a decided inferiority," for it is the Prātisākhya, on the contrary, which, "in most instances, gives the rules with a certain amount of safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision, or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way "

We must, therefore, leave the whirlpool, such as it is, *and in doing so we cannot but appreciate the immense advantage* which an author enjoys, when he is impartial enough to arrive at his conclusions unbiassed by a knowledge of the subject of which he is speaking Professor Weber has made up his mind that the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya *must* be anterior to Pāṇini, probably because it "appears extremely ticklish" to him to decide otherwise, hence he is not troubled with any of those cares which are likely to disturb the minds of scholars who would first endeavour to study both works before they drew their inferences from them He meets with an overwhelming amount of identical passages in the two works he finds that their terminology is likewise identical to a certain degree,— hence he concludes either Pāṇini has borrowed these passages and this terminology from Kātyāyana, or both authors have borrowed them from a common source. For, as to a third alternative,— that Kātyāyana may have borrowed such passages from Pāṇini, it is dispatched by him "with a tolerable amount of certainty," as ranging amongst things impossible, because Pāṇini is later than the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya, and this posteriority, again, he chiefly bases on the argument that the pronunciation of the short *ā* was, in the time of Pāṇini, "already so much covered," that he had to take the vowel *u* for his type of a vowel sound, whereas Kātyāyana could still make use of the vowel *a* as the typical

vowel in his Vaidika rules. Now, though I have already mentioned that this great argument is strangled by him as soon as it is born, I must nevertheless take the liberty of asking for the authority which supplied him with the circumstantial account of this phonetic history of the vowel *a*? Pāṇini and Kātyāyana both state and imply, as he himself admits, that the vowel *ā* is pronounced *saṃvrta*, or with the contraction of the throat, they do not say one single word more on the pronunciation of this sound, nor is there any grammarian known to me who does so much as allude to the fantastical story narrated by Professor Weber relative to this vowel *ā*. An ordinary critic, then, would content himself with the authentic information supplied him by both grammarians, and if he perceived that Pāṇini, in his rule I 2, 27, gives the vowel *ū* as a *specimen* vowel, and not as a type, while Kātyāyana chooses the vowel *a* for such a *specimen*, he would conclude that, even should there be a real scientific motive for this difference, it cannot be founded on a different pronunciation of the vowel *ā*, since it is repudiated by both grammarians. But a critic like Professor Weber who looks upon facts as worsted if they do not agree with his theories, concludes that this vowel *a* was “*already so much saṃvrta*” in the time of Pāṇini, that he must needs throw it overboard, and receive *ū* into the ark of his grammatical terminology.

And here I may, in passing, advert once more to a practice sometimes met with in literary arguments. It consists in quietly introducing into the premises some such innocent words as “more,” or “almost,” or “already,” or “so much,” or similar adverbs of small size, which have not the slightest claim to any such hospitality, and then, suddenly, these little interlopers grow into mastership, and sway the discussion into which they had stealthily crept. Thus, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, as I have just said, speak of the vowel *ā* simply as *saṃvrta*, and upon these words Professor Weber reports that “*a* in the time of Pāṇini was *already so much saṃvrta*” — that important secrets may be extracted from this grand discovery.

The foregoing illustration of Professor Weber’s critical remarks does not embrace the arguments in which he splits

into two, Kātyāyana, the author of our Prātsākhya, and Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārttikas to Pāṇini, for I shall first quote the observations of Professor Muller on this treatment of Kātyāyana. In speaking of the Vājasaneyi-Prātsākhya he expresses himself thus²²⁷ : "It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities [viz, in comparison with the Prātsākhya of the Black Yajurveda] There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātsākhya should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini. It is true that Pāṇini's rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vaidika idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana's Prātsākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rshis. This, however, is not quite the case. Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages : 'There are two words, he says (I 17), *om* and *atha*, both used in the beginning of a chapter, but *om* is used in the Vedas, *atha* in the Bhāshyas' : As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāshya, or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vaidika idiom."

In other words, Professor Muller sees that in no grammatical work known to him — and I may safely add to anyone else — mention is made of two Kātyāyānas, he sees, no doubt, too — though he does not state the fact adverted to by Professor Weber himself — that several Vārttikas to Pāṇini correspond in substance with the Sūtras correct and plausible premises, that there is nothing in either work to discountenance the possibility of the author of the Vārttikas having also written a work on the pronunciation of Vaidika words, and since he doubtless coincides with me in the opinion that even Sanskrit philology can neither gain in strength nor in esteem by freeing itself from the fetters of common sense,—

²²⁷ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 138, line 10 [= p. 122, line 19 — Chowkhambā Edition]

he arrives at the result that the hypercritical splitting of the one Kātyāyana into two, as proposed by Professor Weber, is utterly *fantastical*. I shall support his view with stronger proof than may be gathered from the quotations I have made, but in leaving for a while the whirlpool of the *Indische Studien*, I must now take up Professor Muller's own theory.

After the words just given, he continues as follows: "Some of Kātyāyana's Sūtras are now found repeated *ipsisimilis verbis** in Pānini's Grammar. This might seem strange, but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from his supplementary notes to Pānini, simply repeated some of his Prātiśākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Vārttikas became part of the text of Pānini."

Thus, in order to establish the theory that Pānini's work is later than the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, whom Muller, as we know, conceives to be a contemporary of Pānini, he presents us with this very plausible sequence and chain of works — 1 The Prātiśākhyas of Kātyāyana 2 The Grammar of Pānini 3 The Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. And since some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, he assumes that such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually invaded the second work. Now even supposing that such a migration of rules could be supported by a particle of evidence, what becomes of those stubborn Prātiśākhya Sūtras and Vārttikas of Kātyāyana which are identical in their contents — as I shall hereafter show — and which have not ventured to walk into the Sūtras of Pānini? They become the stumbling block of the whole theory, for since Pānini, and especially Pānini the contemporary of Kātyāyana, could not have written rules of which the defects must have been apparent to him, if he had seen rules so much better in a work written before his own, the substance of these Sūtras of Kātyāyana could not have simultaneously preceded and followed the Grammar of Pānini. But I need not go further in showing the weakness of this theory, for I

* In the same words

have already explained (p 32, etc) that out of the 3996 Sūtras which form the present bulk of Pāṇini's Grammar, only three, or perhaps four, may be ascribed to Kātyāyana, *on critical and tenable grounds*. A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya is older than Pāṇini's work, can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which is levelled by Professor Muller against the whole work of Pāṇini, and which is not even substantiated—as we might have expected it to have been — by a distinct enumeration of all or any of those Sūtras which he would propose to restore to their rightful owner, Kātyāyana

In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātiśākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's Grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātiśākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time — priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different nature and character. It may assume however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Muller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākaraṇa*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a Prātiśākhya work²²⁸. This circumstance,

²²⁸ I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's Great Commentary is not simply *Aśāṅkashya*, but *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*. The end, for instance of a chapter in the sixth book of the great Commentary runs thus इति आगङ्गावत्पञ्चलिर्विचिते व्याकरणमहामाध्वे षष्ठाध्यायस्य दिवावपादे प्रथमादिकम् ।

however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition, from immemorial times, as everyone knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it — the *Vedāṅga* works. One of them is the *Vyākaraṇa*. The *Prātisākhya*s do not belong to them. Thus, tradition even in India,— and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidika literature, those works which apparently stand in the closest relation to it,— which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidika texts of the *Samhitās*, — but it has canonised Pāṇini's *Vyākaraṇa*, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course if it had looked upon these *Prātisākhya*s as prior to the work of Pāṇini?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works. *Vyākaraṇa* means “un-doing,” i. e., analysis, and Pāṇini's Grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis: it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consist of words, it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both, it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which are inseparable from the meeting of words.

The *Prātisākhya*s have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Their object is merely the ready-made word, or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base as part of a Vaidika hymn. These works are no wise concerned in analysing or explaining the nature of a word or base, they take them, such as they occur in *Pada* text and teach the changes which they undergo when

they become part of the spoken sentence, *i e.*, of the spoken hymn. And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Prātiśākhya the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words, hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode of sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts.

This brief comparison will already have hinted at the point of contact which exists between Pāṇini and the authors of these Prātiśākhya works. Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidika pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound, but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pāṇini with Śaṅkara, or the Prātiśākhya with the Jyotiṣa.

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor an historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātiśākhyas of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pāṇini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it.

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a priori* question whether it is more probable that the *plan* of Pāṇini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātiśākhya work, or the reverse?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable Introduction to Pāṇini, Patañjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts, that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and

correct use made of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pāṇini

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidika texts,—a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa*. And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?

In Pāṇini there is organism and life. In the *Prātiśākhya*s there is mechanism and death. They do not care for the sense of a word. A word *antaḥ*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else, for whether it represents the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them. The rule of Kātyāyana's *Prātiśākhya* on this word (II 26), is, therefore, as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached to this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air.

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these *Sūtras*, Kātyāyana or their other authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all. It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital of the sacred texts, and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which Patañjali would wish to find in a man who practises religious rites.

In other words, it seems to me that between Pāṇini's living grammar and these dead *Prātiśākhya*s, there lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps perceptible in some of Pāṇini's Vaidika rules, but which must have been irresistible at the period of the *Prātiśākhya* works.

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pāṇini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pāṇini meant,

in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidika language as well as the language of common life. For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidika texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole Introduction of Patañjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns. I will merely therefore compare, first some matter treated by Pāṇini with some matter treated by the Rk-Prātiśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all.

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *ṣ* becomes *śh*, the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pāṇini's eighth book, but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the Rk-Prātiśākhya. The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *ṇ*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pāṇini in the last chapter of his work. A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pāṇini's rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the Rk-Prātiśākhya in its seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters. In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents of analogous chapters of Pāṇini's Grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pāṇini.

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, I might seem to do that which is superfluous. For, as I have shown before that Pāṇini was not acquainted with a Vājasaneyi Samhitā, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns. But as such a comparison, being extended also to the Vārttikas, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the Vārttikas and the author of the Prātiśākhya is the same person or not, and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the

character of this Vaidika work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the Rk Prātisākhya and Pāṇini.

It is remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work, now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind, then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him. Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us, or that he has botched on to his Prātisākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place, or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber. But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him? if he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātisākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārttikas to Pāṇini, but that his Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidika treatise as well as of containing criticisms on Pāṇini. And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidika work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court. And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pāṇini; for we shall presently see that this identity is merely an apparent one, and, in reality, no identity at all.

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him

Pāṇini says (I 1, 60) *adarsanam lopah* "This is not distinct enough," I hear Kātyāyana say hence he writes (I 141) *varṇasyādarsanam lopah*—Pāṇini gives the definition (I 2, 29 30) *uchchair udāttaḥ* and *nichair anudāttaḥ* "So far so good," I suppose Kātyāyana to say, "but you give the necessary complement of these two rules in the words (I 2, 31) 'samūhārah svaritaḥ', I object to this definition, for the *svarita* would better have been defined thus," *ubhayavān svaritaḥ* (K I 108-110)—P I 2, 32 *tasjādita udāttam ardha hrasvam*, but K I 126 *tasjādita udāttam svarārdhamātram*—P VIII 4, 67, 66 *noḷatta-svaritodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava), *udāttaḥ anudāttaḥ svaritaḥ* The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus *udāttaḥ chānudāttam svaritam* (IV 140, 134)—P I 1, 8 *mukha-nāsikā-īachano nunāsikah*, but K I 75 *mukhānūnāsikā-karano'nunāsikah*—P I 1, 9 *tuḷyasya-prajātṇam savarnam* "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus (K I 43) *samūna-sthūna-karajṇasya-prajātṇah savarnah*" P VI 1, 84 *ekah pūrva-parajoh*, but K IV 49 *athakam uttarachcha*—P I 1, 66 *tasmunniti nirdishte pūrvasya* "This rule I adopt," Kātyāyana probably thought, (I 134) "but for your next rule (I 1, 67), *tasmūd ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clearer wording" (I 135) *tasmūd ity uttarasyādeh*, "and your *shashthi sthāneyogū* (I, 1, 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding Paribhāshā rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these" (I 136)

I will not add more instances of the same kind, they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber, but

he is far from perceiving that the identity between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of Kātyāyana, either in the same Sūtra or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on Pānini, which are even more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of Pānini's words. For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that Kātyāyana first delivered his clearer and better Sūtras, and that Pānini hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable.

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be a matter of accident that the Prāśākhya Sūtras of Kātyāyana are, to a considerable extent, nothing but Vārttikas to Pānini.

Pānini writes (VIII 2, 87), "*om abhyādāne*," which rule proves that in his time *om* was not confined to Vaidika use only; but Kātyāyana writes (I 18 and 19), "*omkāram vedeshu*" and "*athakāram bhūshyeshu*." No doubt if Kātyāyana had not written with a direct glance at Pānini, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible. P. says (VIII 1, 46), "*ehi manye prahāse lri*." Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of Pānini, that *manye* is *ādyudatta* in its combination with *ehi*. This inference is emphatically corrected by K. 2, 15 *manye padapūrvam sarvatra*. Professor Weber, it is true, says that this word *sarvatra*—which embodies the emphasis of the censure of Kātyāyana—is meaningless once more, no doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through "want of practice and skill." How much Pānini's rules VIII 1, 19 and 72, *āmantritasya cha*, and *āmantritam pūrvam aīdyamānāt*, are the torment of commentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyana's Commentary on the Rgveda. K. improves them considerably by II 17 and 18 *pada-pūrvam āmantritam anānārthe pādūdau* and *tenānantarā shakṣhtyekapadaat*—K. writes II 22 *bhūtur ādyudattam* this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professor Weber. "Why," he exclaims, "is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana)? Assuredly,

it is not the single kṛin formation in the V S ' My answer is because Kātyāyana had studied Pāṇini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not, for Pāṇini says, III 3, 96, that *bhūti* is *antodatta* in the Veda, and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā Pāṇini's rule would be erroneous. This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pāṇini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā — K says II 48, *devatā-dīandhām chānāmantritaṁ*, and his words are a distinct criticism on P VI 2, 141, *devatā dīandhe cha* — In rule VIII 3, 36 Pāṇini teaches that *Visarjanyā* may remain such (or, as the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become *Visarjanyā*), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant. But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śakātyāyana, and the former on that of Śākalya. Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the opportunity of writing (III 8) *pratyaya-savarṇam mudī Śakātyāyanaḥ*, and (III 9), *avikāram Śākalyaḥ saḥśaśeṣu*? — In VI 1, 134 Pāṇini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidika use of the nominative of *id* "No," says Kātyāyana (III 14), "in the V S this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances *sa oṣadhimaḥ*," — K (III 22) says *āvīr mīr ida idāvā vasatīr varīṣaḥ* and thus criticises the imperfection of P's rule VIII 3, 54, *idāyā vā* — In III 27, *adhvāno rajaso rṣhaḥ spras patau*, he shows the clumsiness of P's rule VIII 3, 52, *patau cha bahulam*, in III 30, *parāvavasāne* the imperfection of P's VIII-3, 51, *pañchanyāḥ parāvadhvarthe*, in III 55, *bhāvibhīḥ saḥ sham samānapade*, that of P's VIII, 3, 59, *ādesa-pratyayayoh* — In the Sūtras III 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the intervention of *anusāra*, *k* and *r* do not prevent *s* from becoming *śh* if this change would have to take place otherwise "These rules," says Professor Weber, "have no business here, for Samhitā and Pada text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules," and in support of this argument he quotes Uvata,

who also points out the superfluous. The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers. But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvata is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pāṇini's rules VIII 3, 57 and 58, which omit to include *r*. At II, 55, *diandvamechendrasomopūram pūshāgnivāyushu*, Professor Weber discharges a witticism "None of the compounds" (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, 'occur in the V 8 or the Śat Br. How is that to be explained? Did our Homer nod when he composed this rule? or did he have before him passages of the V S which it no longer contains [Professor Weber probably meant to say, 'which was not the V S we now possess']? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *soma*?' I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II 56, are criticisms on Pāṇini's general rule VI 2, 141, and on his special rule VI 2, 142 — The rule of Pāṇini VIII 3, 107, *suḥah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III 59, 60, 61, *okārāt su*, *och chāprktāt*, and *abheśha*.

The Vārttika 3 to III 3, 108 says *varṇāt kārāḥ*, K I 37, *kārena cha*, both are identical in their contents, and complete Pāṇini's rule III 3, 108. The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P III 3, 108, *rād īphah*, and to K I 40, *ra ephena cha*, in reference to the same rule of Pāṇini — K III 38, *aharpatau repham*, points out an omission in P VIII 2, 70 the same criticism is conveyed by the Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pāṇini, *aharādīnām patyōdīshu*, — K III 12, *lung mudl jītpare* fills up a blank in P VIII 3, 36, *vā śari*, and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā sarprakarane kharpare lopah* — P's rule VI 3, 109, *pṛshodarādīni yathopadīṣṭam*, is criticised by K III 41 and 42, *ukāram dur de* and *nāśe cha*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule which has the same contents *duro dāśanāśadabha-*

dhyeshūtam vaktavyam uttarapadādes cha śhutam — A Vārttika to the same rule of P, *śhasha utam datrđasasūttarapadādeh śhutam cha*, is identical in contents with K III 46, *śhad dāsa-anta-yoh samikhyāyavorthavoscha* both are criticisms on P VI 3, 103—The first Vārttika to III 2, 49 (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāshya), *dārā-āhano nantyasya cha tah sañjñāyam*, is similar in contents with K III 47, *ta āghād anādambharāt* both complete P III, 2, 49, *āsishī harah* — The important omission in P's Sūtra VIII 4, 1, *rashābhān no nah samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K's III 83, *rsharebhyo nakāro nakāram samānapade* and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *rashābhāyam natva rkāra grahanam*

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya with the analogous contents of whole chapters in Pāṇini. For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rk-Prātisākhya* and Pāṇini's work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pāṇini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own. My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātisākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pāṇini*. And as it is simply ridiculous to assume that "Homer constantly nodded" in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above *

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātisākhyas or his Vārttikas to Pāṇini. Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātisākhya

* Vide p 218, line 30 *supra*

preceded his Vārttikas. In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, left a considerable number of Pāṇini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now admit, are embodied in his Prātiśākhya work. If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in hurried and immature state, and, upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book. If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his Prātiśākhya Sūtras, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pāṇini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his Vārttikas, and we can then, too, understand why these Vārttikas treat merely of those Sūtras of Pāṇini which were not included in his former work.

*My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his Sūtras and such of his Vārttikas as are closely related to one another. For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive that some of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas show an improvement on some of his Sūtras, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement. Thus the Vārttika to VIII 3, 36, quoted before, contains the word *īḍ*, which is not in the Sūtra III 12, the Vārttika *duro*, &c., to VI 3, 109 embraces more formations than the Sūtras III 41 and 42, the Vārttikas I-3 to III 2, 49 do not contain, it is true, the word *ādambara* alluded to in III 47 — perhaps because it was already contained in this Sūtra — but increase considerably the contents of this rule, the Vārttika 2 to VIII 2, 70 treats of a whole Gana, while the Sūtra III 38 merely names its heading word, and so on. Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the Sūtras which are attached to the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pāṇini, — that,*

consequently, in improvement of the Vārttikas on the Prātiśākhyas need not to tell on the chronological relation between both. For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhyas does not strictly confine itself to the language of his Samhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general. Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III 42, quoted before. It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI 3, 103, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III 42 itself. Their not standing there shows my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Prātiśākhyas work.

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pāṇini's work to the Prātiśākhyas of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have derived from my previous arguments. I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal. Such is the case with question before us. For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patañjali supplied, viz., that the "*anubandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pāṇini" in other words, if a grammarian uses *anubandhas* employed by Pāṇini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pāṇini's work,—we need only point to the *pratyāhāra* 'ting, in Kātyāyana's Sūtra I 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pāṇini's grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana. That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pāṇini, cannot be a matter of surprise, indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—

either as inventor or as borrowing from older grammarians — such additions to the terminology of Pāṇini in his very *Vārttikas*, where one would think there was the least necessity for them,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *śit*, *pit*, *jit*, *jhit*, *ghu*, in the sense in which he uses them ²²⁹

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya* works. The *historical* proof, that only the work of Pāṇini, but Pāṇini himself, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of oldest *Prātiśākhya*, requires, in the first place, the remark that by the latter designation I mean the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Rgveda* hymns

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya* has given proofs that this work as well as the *Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya*—and I infer too, that of the *Taittirīya-Sambhitā*—are more recent than the *Rk-Prātiśākhya*, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him in his views

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this *Rk-Prātiśākhya*. It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus: “After having adored *Brahmā*, *Śaunaka* expressed the characteristic feature of the *Rg-veda* verses”

229 *Vārttika* 1 to Pāṇini I 1, 68 *सित्तिद्विषेणा नृषाचर्यम्*, *Vārttika* 2 *रित्पय्यायवचनस्य च स्नाचर्यम्*, *Vārttika* 3 *नित्पय्यायवचनस्यैव राजाचर्यम्*, *Vārttika* 4 *हितस्य च तद्विषेणा च मत्स्याचर्यम्*—In his *Kārikā* to VII 1, 21 (compare note 114) *Kātyāyana* uses the term *पु* in the sense of उत्तरपद, as results from the commentary of Patañjali—*Kārikā* औपयौ etc.—Patañjali औपयौविति वक्तव्यम् । निमित्तमथाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति etc.—The same term *पु* occurs in Patañjali's *Kārikā* to VI, 4, 149 (see note 121) . *पौ नोपोऽन्तिपदित्यत्र* etc., when *Kaṣyapa* observes *पुनश्चदेनोत्तरपद पूर्वोच्चार्यप्रसिद्धोच्यते* ।

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Rk-Prātiśākhya as we now find it. But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself. It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself.

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Prātiśākhya work. If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,²³⁰ while there is no evidence to show that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former '*literary*' argument a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Prātiśākhya here named.²³¹ This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn.

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" who bear these names. It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names," "like Kātyāyana," but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince

230 IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्त्यु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु 106 शौनकादिभ्यश्चन्द्रमि

Compare also page 163

231 This is the view, too, of *Usata*, the commentator on this Prātiśākhya. He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him नमयिष्यन् स्मरणार्थम् । See Mr. Regnier's edition of the Rk-Prat in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol VII (1856), p 183

myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit literature, and if the same name re-occurs in other and kindred portions of this same literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and good reasons which would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (pp 86-87), that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Ślokas, called *Sangraha*, whose author is *Vyādi* or *Vyāḥ*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name *Sangraha*, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyādi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyādi* is quoted several times in the *Rk-Prātisākhya*,²³² and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *Sangraha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the *Sūtras* to Pāṇini or the *Vārtukas* of Kātyāyana,²³³ and both, indeed, as I shall show here-after, appear to have stood in a close relation to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārtuka of Pāṇini's rule II 3, 66.

It is this "*beautiful indeed is Dākṣhāyana's creation of the Sangraha*"²³⁴

232 *Rk-P* III, 14 17, VI, 12, XIII, 12 15. See Mr. Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the *Rk-Prātisākhya*, s. v. *Vyādi*.

233 Patañjali's commentary on v 6 (of the Calcutta edition) to IV, 2, 60 gives the instances मववेद । सर्वेन्द्र । मवाचिक । समुद्रह, or the कर्माङ्क to VI 3, 79 समुद्रह व्याकरणनर्पति ।

234 This instance follows another which says "beautiful indeed is

From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper name of the author of the Sangraha, that Vyādi and Dākshāyana are one and the same grammatical authority Dākshāyana, however, is not only a descendant of *Dakṣha* but of *Dakṣi* also,²³⁵ and of the latter, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature. For Pāṇini, who defines the term *yuvān* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief,²³⁶ gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of *Dakṣāyana*.²³⁷

Pāṇini's creation of (his) Sūtra "—Vārtika 2 to II 3, 66 शेषे विभाषा —Patañjali शोभना सङ्ग पाणिने सूत्रस्य कृति । शोभना सङ्ग दाक्षायणस्य सङ्ग्रहस्य इति ।

235 Pāṇini, IV 1, 95 अत इष् —Kātyāyana इतो वृद्धावृद्धाभ्यां फिञिर्नौ विप्रतिषेधेन —Patañjali इतो वृद्धावृद्धाभ्यां फिञिर्नौ भवन विप्रतिषेधेन । इतोऽवकाशः । दाक्षि etc —Kāṣikā दक्षस्यापत्य दाक्षि ।

236 Pāṇini, IV 1, 162 अपत्य पौत्रप्रवृत्ति शौरम्, 163 जावति तु वश्ये युवा, 164 भान्ति च ज्यायसि, 165 वान्यत्पिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरनरे जावति ।

237 IV 1, 101 * यनिञ्श This Sūtra has no direct commentary by Patañjali and I shall therefore first quote the Kāṣikā on it यनन्तदिभ्यन्ताच्चापत्ये पक्षप्रत्ययो भवति । गार्ग्यायण । वात्स्यायन ॥ इनन्तात् । दाक्षायण । प्लाक्षायण । दीपादनुममुद्र यन् (IV 3, 10) । (IV 2, 80) सुनहमादिभ्य नित्यतो न भवति ॥ गोत्रग्रहेण यनिञौ विरोधेते । तदन्ताच्चापत्येवाय प्रत्यय (comp IV 1, 94) —But there is no occasion for doubting the genuineness of this Sūtra on account of there being no Bhāṣya to it (compare note 139), for Patañjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth Paribhāṣhā (in the Calc. ed) to I 1, 72 and has also, amongst others, the instance दाक्षायण, viz (ed Ballantyne, p. 795), Paribhāṣhā प्रत्ययग्रहं चापब्रम्हा । प्रत्ययग्रहणञ्च अपब्रम्हा प्रयोजनम् । यनिञो षम्भवति । गार्ग्यायण वात्स्यायन । परमपर्यायण परमपत्यायन । दाक्षायण । परमदाक्षायण etc —That Dākshāyana is the *yuvān*, not the *son* of *Dakṣi* is sufficiently clear from the Kāṣikā itself, since it refers to IV 1, 94. For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *yuvān* to I 2, 66, besides गार्ग्यायण and वात्स्यायन (omitted in the Calc. ed), the word दाक्षायण —Patañjali contents himself with the instance गार्ग्यायण, but it commences its counter-instance to II 4, 58

If we now turn to Pāṇini himself, we have it on the authority of Patañjali that his mother bore the name of *Dākshī* ²³⁸ And *Dākshī*, again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pāṇini, the female family head of the progeny of Daksha, standing in the same relationship to Daksha as the male family chief *Dākshī*, she is, in other words, the oldest sister (*Vṛddhā*) of the latter personage ²³⁹ Vyādi, therefore, was a *near relative of Pāṇini*, and Pāṇini must have preceded him by at least two generations

Now since the *Rk-Prāśākhya* quotes Vyādi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the *Prāśākhya* of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pāṇini from the author of the *Rk-*

in this way अग्निजोरिति किम् । दाक्षेयपत्यं युवा दाक्षायणम् We must, consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same *Kāśikā* gives its counter-instance to II 4, 60 in these words प्राचामिति किम् । दाक्षि पिता । दाक्षायणं पुत्रः । The Calcutta edition continues it, and Dr Boehtlingk, of course, reprints it without a single remark In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface, § xxviii "The Calcutta edition is very correct, so much so that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts"

238 *Kāśikā* to I 1, 20 सर्वे संपदादेष्टा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिने etc

239 Pāṇini, VI 4, 148 यस्वेति च —Patañjali इवर्गान्तस्येति किमुदाहरणं हे दाक्ष्या दाक्षेयः । हे दाक्षि इति यदि लोपो न स्याद etc —Kaṣṣyaṣa इवर्ग[न्त]स्येति । हे दाक्ष्याति । दाक्षिशब्दादितो मनुष्यजातेरिति (MS हे दाक्षेनिदिक्षिश००) (IV 1, 65) लोपि कुने तस्य सम्बुद्धौ हस्वे कुते etc —IV 1, 65 इतो मनुष्यजाते —*Kāśikā* दाक्षी . IV 1, 94 गोत्राचून्वसियाम् —*Kāśikā* अग्नियामिति किम् । दाक्षी — I 2, 66 स्त्री पुत्रश्च (where स्त्री implies in reference to the preceding Sūtra वृद्धा स्त्री, i. e. the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the family) —*Kāśikā* वृद्धो यूनेति (I 2, 65) च सर्वम् । स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सह वचने शिष्यने । उत्तरश्रवणं देव विशेषो भवति । पुंस एवास्या (thus MS 829, MS. 2440 एवास्या) कार्यं भवति । स्वर्ग्यं पुमस्वद्धवति । गार्गा च गार्ग्योगश्च गार्ग्यौ । वात्मी च वात्स्यायनश्च वात्स्यौ । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्ष्यौ (thus MS 2440, MS. 829 दाक्षी)

Prāṭisākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prāṭisākhya and the Vārttikas on the other

After his statement, which, I fear, is entirely fatal to a great many chronological assumptions which have hitherto been regarded as fully established, *and to the critical and linguistic results which have been built on these assumptions*, it is not necessary — but it will nevertheless be interesting — to see that modern and ancient grammatical authorities contain additional testimony to the conclusion I have here arrived at

When explaining the uncritical condition of the Paribhāṣhā collections, I pointed out that if they were looked upon as an indivisible whole, there could be no doubt that they must be later than Pāṇini,—since one of them uses the word *Pāṇiniya* I pointed out, too, that the compilers of these collections, Vaidyanātha, for instance, must have taken this view of their chronological relation to Pāṇini. Now at the end of the *Laghu-paribhāṣhāvṛtti* we read that “some ascribe the composition of all the *paribhāṣhās* to the Muni *Vyādi*”²⁴⁰ They must consequently have considered him as posterior to Pāṇini

I will at once, however, ascend to the author of the Great Commentary. In illustrating the first Vārttika to Pāṇini's rule VI 2, 36, Patañjali writes down the following compound *Āpīsala-Pāṇiniya-Vyādiya-Gautamiyah*²⁴¹ It tells its own tale it names first the disciples of *Āpīsala*—of whom we know, through Pāṇini himself, that he preceded him,—then those of *Pāṇini*, afterwards those of *Vyādi*, and ultimately those of *Gautama*. There can be no doubt that we have here a sequence of grammarians who wrote one after the other, but, if any doubt still existed, it would be dispelled by the grammatical properties of the compound itself, for a Vārttika to II 2, 34, teaches that—unless there be reasons to prevent it—the name

240 *Laghu-paribhāṣhāvṛtti* इह भर्तृहरिवचनम् । केचित्तु व्याख्यानतः (the first Paribhāṣhā) इत्यादिपरिभाषा व्याडिमुनिविरचिता इत्याहुः ।

241 Pāṇini, VI 2, 36 आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवाम्ना — Kātyāyana : आचार्योपसर्जननेऽनेकस्यापि पूर्वपदत्वात् देह — Patañjali, आचार्योपसर्जननेऽनेकस्यापि पदस्य पूर्वपदत्वात् देहो भवति । अपिदलपाणिनीयव्याख्यानौतमीया ।

of the more important part must come first in a *Diandya* compound, and for a similar reason other Vārttikas teach that, for instance, in forming such a compound of the name of the earliest season in the year must precede that of a subsequent one, or in compounding the names of castes, they must follow one another in their natural order, or in making a *Diandya* of the names of two brothers, the name of the older has precedence of the name of the younger ²⁴². But as none of the grammatical reasons taught by Pāṇini in previous rules would compel the component parts of the compound alleged to assume another order than that which they have, we can only interpret their sequence in the manner I have stated ²⁴³.

The descent from the height of the *Prātiśākhya*s to the level plain of the *Phitsūtras* would almost seem to require an explanation. Before I give it, however, I will refer to Professor Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, and state its opinion on the relation of these *Sūtras* to Pāṇini. It is contained in the following words ²⁴⁴:

"As to Śāntapa's *Phitsūtras*, we know with less certainty to what period they belong. A knowledge of them is not pre-

242 Pāṇini, II 2, 34. अन्वयान्तरम् — Vārttika 3 (of the Calc ed) अन्वयान्तरम् । — Patañjali : अन्वयहितं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् । मानादितरो श्रद्धानेपे — Vārttika 2 (of the Calc ed) ऋतुनक्षत्रागमानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षरागम् — Patañjali, ऋतुनक्षत्रागमानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः । शिशिरवसन्तो — Vārttika 3 (of the Calc ed) वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण — Patañjali : वर्णानाञ्चानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । माह्वणक्षत्रिविद्भूदा — Vārttika 6 (of the Calc ed) आतुश्च ज्यायस — Patañjali : आतुश्च ज्यायस पूर्वनिपातो यदतीति वक्तव्यम् । उषधिराजुनौ ।

243 Such a reason would be, for instance, if one part of the compound belonged to the words technically called *धि* (I 4 7—8), for in such a case the base *धि* would have precedence of a base ending in *अ* (compare II 2, 32) On this account the names of the three grammarians, Śākalya, Gārgya, and Vyādi, form in the *Rik-Prātiśākhya*, XIII 12, the *diandya* * व्यादिशकान्त्यगार्याः ।

244 *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p 152 [=Chowkhamba Edn p 134

supposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śāntana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Boehtlingk has ingeniously concluded that Śāntana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians. As, however, these Sūtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vaidika language only, the subject of Śāntana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusion from this."

Once more I am unable to assent to the arguments of my learned predecessor on this subject. If the knowledge of a work, as he admits, is not presupposed by Pāṇini, it would seem to follow that such a work is not anterior but posterior to him, since it is scarcely probable that he could have ignored the information it contains. Nor has Professor Müller given any evidence to show that the contents of the Phitsūtras are restricted to the Vaidika language only. On the contrary, the great bulk of the words treated of in these Sūtras belongs with equal right, and, in some respect, with much greater right, to the classical language, in preference to that of the Vaidika hymns or Brāhmanas. And as no word can be pronounced without an accent, it is not intelligible why such a treatise should not be of as great importance for the student who recites the Mahābhārata as for the priest who reads the Rgveda Poetry. Pāṇini himself has, indeed, embraced in his rules on accentuation a great number of words no trace of which occurs in the Samhitās. But even if the statement made by Professor Müller were unobjectionable, why should it follow that an author who — and because he — writes on a Vaidika subject, must, or is even likely to be anterior to an author who treats of the classical literature? And Pāṇini moreover treated of both.

As little as I can adopt, on these premises, the conclusions Prof. Muller draws, so little can I join in the compliments he pays to the ingenuity of Dr Böehtlingk.²⁴⁵ For since

245 As in the case of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, and of the Uṇādi-Sūtras, the edition of the Phitsūtras also was entrusted by Dr

Pāṇini himself, as I have shown before, makes use of the terms *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *trītyā*, *chaturthī*, etc., and of *aung*, *āng* (in the sense of an instrumental in the singular),²⁴⁶ all of which are terms of the eastern grammarians, and, as everyone knows that Pāṇini did not belong to them, I can see no ingenuity in assigning Śāntana to this school on the sole ground of his having used terms which differ from those of Pāṇini, especially when these terms have no grammatical influence whatever, like the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini.

Böchtlingk to his compositor, who reprinted the text of these Sūtras from the Calcutta edition of the *Siddhānta kaumudī*—The difficulties offered by these Sūtras are not inconsiderable, and might have yielded good materials for many remarks. Dr. Böchtlingk's Commentary on them consists of 32 lines, which contain the substance of about 12, nearly all of which are insignificant. Even his very small Index to the Sūtras is imperfect, for it omits the Sūtra *वधेति पदान्ते* which he mistook for a part of the commentary on IV 15, and the Sūtra *उपसर्गोऽभिधेयम्* which also he has reprinted as if it were a portion of the commentary on IV 12, though he himself is doubtful as to its proper position there. He professes, too, to have given an Index of the contents, "for those who mean to pursue the subject." But as one of the latter, I had to make a thorough Index of all the technical symbols in the Sūtras, and also of a good number of real words which occur in the commentary and text, but which, in accordance with his notion of an Index, or through his usual inaccuracy, are omitted in his Index, e.g. *अनुक* II 13, *अदिनि* IV 15, *अभि* IV 13, *अन्त* I 2, *आन्त्र* I 4, *आयर्वण* IV 11, *इष्टका* III 19, *ऋतु* II 22, *इकान्त* II 22, *इत्ति* I 21, *इत्तिम* II 8, and very many more. Of compounds he has never enabled the reader to find the latter part, and such general terms as *उदात्त*, *स्वरित*, *अनुदात्त*, *अक्षर* etc., which are as indispensable for a student as the individual words themselves, are of course, also omitted. And all these remarks are suggested by the edition of a text which comprises no more than 88 Sūtras. It is, of course, needless for me to add that the trouble of consulting or using a very valuable commentary on these Sūtras, the *Phitsūtra-arthī*, does not enter into the plan of an editor whose activity in editing grammatical Sanskrit texts only consists in putting the printed Calcutta works into different type.

and are not distinctly defined in the commentary as terms of the eastern grammarians ²⁴⁷

The real reasons for this assumption, which I share in, must, in my opinion, be sought for elsewhere, and as they are connected with the question of the chronological relation of the Phitsūtras to Pāṇini, I will first explain why I speak of them after the Prātiśākhya works

It is because they stand on the same linguistic ground as the latter writings, and because it was safer to survey this ground in the wider field of the Prātiśākhya literature than in the narrow precincts of the Sūtras of Śāntana. This having been done, we need now merely recall the results obtained

We have seen that the Prātiśākhyas represent the mechanic treatment of the language, unlike Pāṇini's method, which is organic and shows the growth and life of the language he spoke. The same is the case in these Phitsūtras. Whereas Pāṇini endeavours to explain the accent of words by connecting it with the properties of the word, — whereas he seeks for organic laws in the accents of uncompound or compounded words and, only reluctantly, as it were, abandons this path whenever he is unable to assign a general reason for his rules, — the Phitsūtras, like the Prātiśākhyas, deal merely with the ready-made word,²⁴⁸ and attach to it those mechanical rules

247 Dr Böhtlingk enumerates the terms which induced him to draw the inference alluded to by Müller that Śāntana belonged to the eastern grammarians and he adds also the Sūtras where they occur, viz अच् II 4 19, 26 नच् II 3, फिच् I 1, यमन्वच् II 18, शिट् II 6, रिक् II 16, ह्व् II 26. Amongst these, रिक् does not occur in the text of the Sūtras of Bhaṭṭoji, but is a *various reading* mentioned by him in his commentary, which reports on this *various reading* that it is a term of the eastern grammarians. The text of his Sūtras has हुच् instead of रिक्. As in the other quotations given by Dr Böhtlingk, not one tells us that these terms are terms of the eastern grammarians. There was, consequently, not a particle of evidence to draw from them that inference which he so positively draws. It is a mere guess the probable correctness of which is corroborated, but by such evidence as never occurred to him.

248 Phitsūtra, I 1 रिबोञ्ज उदात्त — Phitsūtra-vṛtti अर्बेवधातुर-

which bewilder and confuse, but must have been well adapted for an intellectual condition fitted for admiring the Prāṭisākhya works. They belong, in my opinion, like the Prāṭisākhyas, not to the flourishing times of Hindu antiquity, but to its decadence.

In the second place, we have seen that on the ground which is common to both, the Prāṭisākhyas possess a far greater amount of linguistic material than Pāṇini does, and we had to conclude that Pāṇini could on no account have ignored the knowledge they conveyed, had they existed before his time. Precisely the same remark applies to the little treatise of Śāntana, for, brief as it is, it is richer in many respects than the *analogous* chapter which Pāṇini devoted to the same subject, and it would be unconceivable that Pāṇini should bring forward his rules, so much more incomplete in *substance* than the *Phyṣūtras*, had they been the precursor of his work.

But, thirdly, we were compelled to admit that, at least, one of the Prāṭisākhyas, that of Kātyāyana, was written with the direct intention of completing and criticising Pāṇini, and I may here observe, that Professor Weber has, with very good reasons, assigned to this grammarian a place within the Eastern school. These features, too, characterise the tract of Śāntana.

Some of his rules are delivered with the evident purpose of criticising Pāṇini, and we meet on one occasion with the remark of the commentator that the *eastern grammarians* point out the difference between a rule of Pāṇini and one of Śāntana, when the context in which this passage occurs leaves no doubt that they meant a criticism on Pāṇini. And from this remark alone I should conclude that Śāntana was one of their school, while, from all these reasons combined, I draw the inference that he must have written after Pāṇini.

I will give some proof to substantiate this view, and to show, moreover, that there are grammatical authorities in India who expressly imply the view here taken of the posteriority of these Sūtras to Pāṇini

According to Pāṇini's rule, VI 1, 213, a word *ibhya* would have the *udatta* on the first syllable, Bhattojiḍikṣita, in his comment on the *Phitsūtras*, quotes this rule in order to show that Śāntana gave his Sūtra I 5, with a view of stating that Pāṇini's rule would not apply to this word ²⁴⁹ He quotes the same rule of Pāṇini for a similar purpose when he comments on I 18, ²⁵⁰ for, according to this rule, *arya* is not *udatta* on the first, but on the last syllable, and also in his comment on IV 8, for, according to this Sūtra, the words *tiḥa*, *śikhya* (*martya*) *dhāma* and *kanvā*, are not *udatta* on the first, but *svarita* on the last syllable ²⁵¹ On the rule I 7, Bhattoji reports that, in the opinion of certain grammarians, Śāntana gave it in order to "kill" Pāṇini's rule VI 2, 2 ²⁵² Śāntana's rule I 23, Bhattoji says, contravenes Pāṇini's rule VI 1, 197 ²⁵³ And it is the same grammarian who, when explaining that *saha* as a part of Śāntana's rule IV 13, is *udatta* on the last syllable, reports "The eastern grammarians inform us that *saha* in PĀNINI'S rule VI 3, 78, is *udatta* on the

249 Pāṇini, VI 1, 213 यतोऽनाव — Phitsūtra, I, 5 अयपूर्वत्वात् अविषयस्य । — Bhattoji विषयग्रहणं किम् । इत्याह यतोऽनाव इत्याद्यदात्त इभ्यश्चन्द्र ।

250 Phitsūtra, I 18 अयस्त्वस्त्वान्नास्या चेत् — Bhattoji यान्नस्त्वान्त्वात् पूर्वमिति (III 13) । यतोऽनाव इति वाद्युदात्ते प्राप्ते वचनम् (where the word प्राप्ते sufficiently indicates Bhattoji's view of the chronological relation between Śāntana and Pāṇini. The same rule is given by Kātyāyana in his Vārttika to Pāṇini, III 1, 103)

251 Phitsūtra, IV 8 तिल्वशिक्ष्यकाम्यर्थान्यन्यारविन्मनुष्याशामन् — Bhattoji स्वदित स्यात् । तिल्वना अवन क्षेत्र तिल्वम् । यतोऽनाव इति प्राप्ते — The Phitsūtra-vṛtti reads this Sūtra तिल्वशिक्ष्यमर्त्यकाम्यर्थान्य०० ।

252 Phitsūtra, I 7 हिष्ठवत्सगतिश्चत्वनानाम् — Bhattoji सवत्सर । अन्ययपूर्वपदप्रवृत्तिस्वरौ (comp Pāṇ VI 2, 2) स च वाचन इत्याहुः ।

253 Phitsūtra, I 23 ज्येष्ठकनिष्ठयोर्वयमि — Bhattoji अन्न उदात्त स्यात् । ज्येष्ठ आह चमसा । इह नित्वापुनश्च एव (comp Pāṇ VI, 1, 197)

first syllable," and he adds the advice "*think on that*"²⁵⁴ But I find no evidence in the arguments of Dr Böhtlingk, as regards the relation of Śāntana to the eastern grammarians, of his having followed the advice of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita

Of equal importance with these observations of Bhaṭṭojī, is a passage in the notes of Nāgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyaṣa, when the latter accompanies the gloss of Patañjali to Kātyāyana's Vārttika 6, to Pāṇini VI 1, 158, with his own remarks For Nāgojibhaṭṭa, after having observed that a rule of Pāṇini would contain a fault when compared with the standard of the *Phitsūtras*, pointedly winds up with the following words "*But, on the other hand, these Phitsūtras, when considered in reference to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day*" 255

254 *Phitsūtra*, IV 14 (not 13) एवादीनामन्त — Bhaṭṭojī
एवमादीनामिति पाठान्तरम् । एव । एवम् । नूनम् । मह । ते पुत्रमूरेभि सह । पठस्य
मृताये महस्य स इति (*Pān* VI 3, 78) प्रकरणे सप्तशब्द आचक्षते इति प्राज्ञ ।
तच्चिन्त्यम् — The statement of the *Prāñchas* mentioned by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita,
is that of Patañjali in his comment on VI 3, 78, v 1 viz आचक्षते
निपातन करिष्यते, and Kaiyaṣa in referring to *Phitsūtra* IV 12, observes
निपाता आचक्षते इति सप्तशब्द आचक्षते But this reference of Kaiyaṣa by no
means admits of the conclusion that he looked upon Pāṇini's rule as more
recent than this *Phitsūtra*, for this rule is not concerned with the accent
of मर्, it is Patañjali who alludes to it, and Kaiyaṣa comments, in the
words alleged, on Patañjali, not on Pāṇini

255, Vārttika 6 (of the Calc ed) to VI 1, 158 प्रकृतिप्रत्यययो
स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादप्रसिद्धि — Patañjali प्रकृतिप्रत्यययो स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वा
दप्रसिद्धि स्यात् । प्रकृतिस्वरस्वावकाश । वक्रानुदात्तप्रत्यय । एचति । पठति ॥ प्रत्यय
स्वरस्यावकाश । वक्रानुदात्ता प्रकृति सम त्वम् । मिम त्वम् । इक्षोमय प्राप्नोति ।
वर्तय्यम् । तैत्तिरीयम् । विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वरौ भविष्यति । नैव विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युच्यते
(I 4, 2) न पर प्रत्ययस्वर । नैव दोष । इहवाचा परस्य । विप्रतिषेधे पर
यदिह तद्वन्ता — Vārttika 7 (of the Calc ed) विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वर इति
चेत्प्राग्व्यादिषु चित्वाणम् । — Patañjali विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वर इति चेत्प्राग्व्यादि
दयश्चित् वर्तय्या । पुत्राम्यनि । गोपायनि । ऋतीवते । नैव दोष । प्रकृतिस्वरौ
वाच्यौ भविष्यति । प्रकृतिस्वरे प्रत्ययस्वरामाव । वर्तय्यम् । तैत्तिरीयम् — Kaiyaṣa,
on the preceding passages विप्रतिषेधादिति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधादित्यर्थ । काम्यादय
इति । काम्यचक्षित्करण प्रत्याख्यात तत्कर्तव्यमेव — Nāgojibhaṭṭa सम त्वमित्यत्र
स्वरसमसिमेत्यनुब्रवीतीति (*Phitsūtra*, IV 10) प्रकृतिरनुदात्ता । निश्चिदि शङ्कनीना

It is clear, therefore, that the best Hindu grammarians, too, looked upon these Sūtras not only as not anterior to Pāṇini, but as quite recent, when compared with his work

On *Yāska*, Professor Muller expresses himself thus ²⁵⁶

“There are some discussions in the beginning of the Nirukta which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology. While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers,

च लुपुर्बमिति (Phitsūtra, II 21) मध्योदात्त । षिट्स्वरोऽपि पाठ एवेति
 तैत्तिरीयेऽपि दोषः । यदा षिट्मूत्राणि पाणिन्यपेक्षया आधुनिककर्तृभाषाणि परस्व बोध्यम् —
 The Phitsūtra II 21, referred to by Nāgajibhatta, is read differently in
 Bhattoji's text from that of the Vrtti. I subjoin both readings with their
 commentary in order to illustrate at the same time the nature of the latter
 commentary as compared with that of Bhattoji. The latter reads शकुनानाञ्च
 उपपूर्वम्, and comments पूर्व लुपुदात्त स्यात् । कुट्ट । निक्षिति — The
 Phitsūtra vrtti reads शकुनीनाञ्च लुपुर्वात्तम् । and comments लुपुर्वा नेया
 शकुनिवाचिना लघावन्ने द्योऽयं बहुशो ऽस्मिन्नाच्चे भवति । इववाहु । इन्नाम् ।
 कपोत ॥ शकुनानामिति दिम् । वराह ॥ लुपुर्वात्तमिति दिम् । कुट्ट । निक्षिति ।
 त्वजरीद — I may quote here a passage from Sāyana's Commentary on
 Rgveda I 1, 1, in order to obviate a misunderstanding of it. With regard
 to the accent of the word अग्नि he writes गान्वहन् मत्तमिदं शब्दस्यावर्णमिति
 पदिक्त्वात्पिषोऽन्त उदात्त इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् । These words need not mean that
 Gārgya, the predecessor of Pāṇini, deducts from Phitsūtra I 1, the accent
 of अग्नि, but they may — and, I conclude, *do* — mean “since, according
 to the opinion of Gārgya, *agnis* is an indivisible base (*ś* *e* a base which
 must not be analysed, compare note 248), its accent is the *udatta* on the
 last syllable, agreeably to Phitsūtra I 1 — The last reference, therefore,
 would belong to Sāyana, not to Gārgya, and the only inference we might
 be allowed to draw from the words of Sāyana would be, that Gārgya
 looked upon *agnis* as an *Umnādi*-formation (compare p 187), and, perhaps
 — but not necessarily, — that already in his time there existed a rule of
 accentuation similar in *purport* to that of the Phitsūtra alleged. It is not
 admissible, therefore, to adduce this passage in proof that, in Sāyana's
 opinion the Phitsūtras were known to Gārgya.

256 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 163 [= Chowkhambā Edn
 page 144]

as expressed in the *Cratylus*, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the *Brāhmanas* of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the *Prātiśākhya* of *Kātyāyana* we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles, another division of a purely grammatical nature and expressed in the most strictly technical language '*Verbs* with their conjugational terminations, *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of *Krt* suffixes, *Nouns*, derived from nouns by means of *taddhita*-suffixes, and four kinds of compounds, — these constitute language' [*Vājas Prāt* I 27]

"In the *Nirukta* this division is no longer considered sufficient. A new problem has been started, one of the most important problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns were derived from verbs. The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that *kartr*, a doer, was derived from *kr*, to do, *pāchaka*, a cook, from *pach*, to cook. But did the same apply to all words? *Śākatāyana*, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the *Nairuktas* (or Etymologists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches "257

It is sufficiently clear from the preceding words that Professor Müller considers *Yāska* as more recent than *Kātyāyana*, and since he himself admits (see above p 211) "that there is nothing in the style of the *Prātiśākhya* composed by *Kātyāyana* that could be used as a tenable argument why *Kātyāyana*, the author of the *Prātiśākhya*, should not be the same as *Kātyāyana*, the contemporary and critic of *Pāṇini*," he must also consider the author of the *Nirukta* as subsequent to *Pāṇini*.

To refute his view on the relative position of *Kātyāyana* and *Yāska*, we need now merely point to the facts with which

257 : In the continuation of this passage Professor Müller gives the statement similar to that which is contained above, on page 187.

we are already familiar with Muller's reason for Yāska's posteriority of Kātyāyana is founded, as we see, on the assumption that the problem of the derivability or non-derivability of *all* nouns from verbs had not yet been proposed in the time of Kātyāyana. But whence does he know this? The Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is no sufficient testimony for establishing this theory. When Kātyāyana there says that nouns are either nouns derived from verbs, or nouns derived from nouns,—either *kṛt* or *taddhita* derivatives,—he has already said too much in a work of this kind, which has nothing to do with the origin of words, and which alludes to this and other matter, foreign to a Prātiśākhya itself, only *because*, and *in so far as* it concerns its *other purpose*, viz that of criticising Pāṇini. Whether or not therefore it dealt with a problem such as that of which Muller is speaking is merely a matter of chance.

But this problem itself, as we have seen, is epitomised in the term *Unnādi*. A grammarian who uses this term shows at the same time that he is cognisant of that division between the old grammarians which Yāska describes. For whichever side he espouse he has expressed by the term *unnādi*, that there are *kṛt*-derivatives which are of an exceptional kind and which are looked upon by some as being, strictly speaking, no derivatives at all. Now, I have quoted several instances which prove that Kātyāyana dealt with the question of *Unnādi* words. Hence he *was* aware of that problem discussed in the *Nirukta*, it was *not* "a new problem" to him, and all the inferences that may or may not be built on its absence in the Vājasaneyi - Prātiśākhya become invalidated at once.

But the knowledge possessed by Pāṇini, of this problem itself would, of course, not prove anything as to his priority or posteriority to Yāska, who speaks of it. It leaves this question just where we find it, and we must seek for other evidence to settle it.

Such, I hold, is afforded by the fact that Pāṇini knows the name of Yāska, for he teaches the formation

of this word and heads a *Gana* with it ²⁵⁸ And as we know at present of but one real Yāska in the whole ancient literature, a doubt as to the identity of the author of the Nirukta and the family chief adduced by Pāṇini, would have first to be supported with plausible arguments before it could be assented to

A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the grammatical *sanjñās* which occur in Pāṇini's work

Amongst these terms there is one especially which allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz, the term *upasarga*, prefix or preposition Pāṇini employs it in many Sūtras, he does not define it, it must consequently have been in use before he wrote Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it, as we may conclude from the following words of his Nirukta — ²⁵⁹

258 Pāṇini, II 4, 63 याम्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ।

259 Nirukta, I 3 (according to the edition of Professor Roth)
न निर्वृद्धा उपसर्गं अगमितादुरिति द्वाद्वादशो नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसर्गयोगोत्तरा
भवन्तुपञ्चावचा पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यस्तत्र श्यु पदार्थं प्रादुरिमे त नामाख्यातद्वौर्ध्व-
विकरणम् । आ इत्यर्वागर्थे प्र-परत्वेत्यस्य प्रातिश्लोम्यममीत्यामिमुख्य प्रातिश्लोम्यमने सु
इत्यमिगुणितार्थे निदुरित्वेन्यो प्रातिश्लोम्य न्ववेति विविधशार्वाका उदित्वेनयो प्रातिश्लोम्य
ममित्येकीभाव व्यपेक्षितस्य प्रातिश्लोम्यमन्विति सादृश्यापरभावमपीति ससर्गमुपेत्युपजन
परीति सर्वतोभावमधीत्युपरिमावमैश्वर्यै वैकृष्ट्यावचानार्थान्प्रादुस्त उपेक्षितया —Of the
commentary of Durga on this passage I subjoin here only those passages
which are required for a justification of my translation, and of the in-
stances added to the text of Yāska (MS E I H, 206) नामा० । तुप्तद्वौ-
उपधारणार्थं । नामाख्यातयोरेव योऽर्थं कर्म तत्रैव विशेष द्वादिपसुसुप्य धोतयन्ति । स
एव नामाख्यातयोरेवार्थविशेष उपसर्गमयोगे सति न्वज्यते ॥ उक्त्वा भवन्तीति । वद्धा
(*su*) पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यं । उक्त्वाश्च । वद्धाश्च (*su*) उक्त्वावचा । वदुप्रराता
इत्यर्थं । पथामुपसर्गपदानामर्था पदार्था भवन्ति । विमुक्तानामपि नामाख्याताभ्यामिति
गार्ग्यं । आचर्त्तौ मन्यत इति वाच्यद्वेष । एतेषो बोधा प्रादीना नामाख्यातविशेषोऽप्य
नेवार्थ इत्यभिप्रायः ॥ ॥ तत्र श्यु पदार्थं प्रादुरिमे तम् । तदेनदुपपन्न भवति । य
एवमुपसर्गमन्वनेप्रकारोऽर्थ इति प्रादुरेव तमिन उपसर्गपदविशेषा पृथगपि मन्य क पुनर
साधित्युच्यते । नामाख्यातयोरेव विकरणम् ॥ ॥ आ इत्यर्वागर्थे । तत्रापि । आ पर्वतादिति ।
अर्वागिति गम्यते ॥ ..प्र-परत्वेत्यस्य प्रातिश्लोम्यम् । प्रपराधित्येनादुपसर्गमित्येवार्थोऽर्थस्य

"Śākatāyana says that 'the prepositions when detached (from noun or verb) do not distinctly express a sense,' but Gārgya maintains that 'they illustrate the action which is the sense expressed by a noun or verb (in modifying it), and that their sense is various (even when they are detached from a noun or verb)' Now they express (even in their isolated condition) that sense which inheres in them, it is this sense which modifies the sense of a noun or verb. The preposition *ā* expresses the sense of limit (*e g upto the mountain*), *pra* and *parā* express the reverse of *ā* (*e g gone forth or away*), *abhi*, the sense of towards (*e g gone towards—in a friendly sense*), *prati*, the reverse of *abhi* (*e g gone against*), *ati* and *su*, excellence (*e g having much wealth, an excellent Brāhmaṇa*), *nir* and *dur*, the reverse of these two (*e g having no wealth, a bad Brāhmaṇa*), *ni* and *ava*, downwardness (*e g he takes down*), *ud*, the reverse of these two (*e g he takes up*), *saṃ*, junction (*e g he takes together*), *vi* and *apa*, the reverse of *saṃ* (*e g he takes away*), *anu*, similarity or being after (*e g having a similar appearance, he goes after*), *api*, co-existence (*e g let it be a drop of butter, a drop of honey*),²⁶⁰ *upa*, excess (*e g he is born again*), *pari*, surrounding (*e g*

प्रातिलोम्यमाह । प्रगत । पराग ॥ अमीत्याभिमुखमाह । अभिगत ॥ प्रतीत्येनैव-
बाधे प्रातिलोम्यमाह । प्रतिगत इति ॥ अति सु इत्येतावभिपूजितार्थे वर्तेते । अतिथन ।
सुमात्रण इति ॥ निदुरीत्येनयो प्रातिलोम्यम् । निर्धन दुर्मात्रण इति ॥ न्यवेति विनिमडा
धीदौ । निगृह्णात्यवगृह्णाति ॥ उदित्वयनेरु एव द्वयो प्रातिलोम्यमाह । उद्गृह्णातीति ॥
समित्येकीभावमर्थमाह मङ्गृह्णातीति ॥ व्यपेत्येनस्य प्रातिलोम्यमाह तु । विगृह्णात्यव-
गृह्णातीति ॥ अन्विति सादृश्यपरभावमाह । अनुरूपमत्येति नाह्वयम् । अनुगच्छती-
त्यपरभावम् ॥ अपीति ससर्गमाह । मर्षिषोऽपि स्यात् । मधुनीऽपि स्यात् ॥ उपेत्युपहनम् ।
उपहनमाधिक्यम् । उपग्राहने ॥ परीति सर्वनोभावमाह । परिषापयतीति ॥ अभीत्युपरिमा-
माह । ऐश्वर्यं वा । अधिनिष्ठति । अधिपतिरिति । आह । नामार्यानाथोस्तु कर्मोपमयोग-
द्योतका भवन्तीत्युक्तम् । अत्र नाम कर्मोपमयोऽथोक्तः भवन्तीति । एव न गृह्यन्ते ।
उपसर्गः क्रियायोग इति (Pāṇ I 1, 59) प्रसिद्धो ह्युपसर्गात् क्रियारदेन योतो न
नात्र उपसर्गो हि क्रियाद्वत्येनैव नामान्यान्वन्दनीति ।

260 : It seems to me doubtful whether समर्थ implies the sense which is illustrated by the instance of Durga, without his words, which clearly refer to Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini, I, 4, 96, I should have rendered समर्थ by *unseen*, and thought of an instance like अधिनयति

he puts *round*), *adhi*, being above and superiority (e.g. he stands over, a supreme lord) In this manner they express various senses and these have to be considered "

This passage records, as we see, besides the definition of Yāska, the opinions of Śākatāyana and of Gārgya, it is silent on Pānini. Yet how much more complete and scientific is his treatment of the prepositions! Durga, the commentator of Yāska, feels this defect in Yāska, for at the end of his gloss he says "upasargas can only be joined to a verb, not to a noun, it is therefore only through the mediation of the former that they can ascend also to the latter" (i.e. in so far as nouns are derived from verbal roots)

Pānini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of *nīpātas* or particles he then continues, that they are *upasargas* when they are joined to "verbal action" (i.e. to a verb), *gatis*, if the verbal roots to which they are attached become developed into a noun, and that they are *karmaprayachanyas* if they are detached and govern a noun²⁶¹ Of such a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta, which stops, as we see, at the speculations of Śākatāyana and Gārgya, both predecessors of Pānini. Nor can the meanings which Yāska assigns to the prepositions, so far as completeness is concerned, be compared to those we meet with in the rules of Pānini. *Abhi*, for instance, has with him not only the sense mentioned by Yāska, but that of "towards, by (severally), with regard to," *ati*, that of "excellence and transgression," *apa*, that of "exception," *anu*, that of "in consequence of, connected with, less than, towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of," *prati*, the sense of "towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of, instead of, in return of," *pari*, the sense of *prati*, except in the two last meanings, and that of an "expletive," *adhi*, that of "superiority and of an expletive"²⁶²

261 Pānini, I 4, 58 आद्य, 59 उपसर्गा क्रियायोगे, 60 गतिश्च,

83 कर्मप्रवचनीया

262 Compare I 4, 84—97

It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yāska could have known the classes of *upasarga* as defined by Pāṇini, and their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini, is, in the case of Yāska, tantamount to having preceded it

Though Yāska be older than Pāṇini, and Pāṇini older than Kātyāyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Pāṇini. No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it. But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity, which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha's* death, it must be of interest to know whether Pāṇini is likely to have lived before or after this event

Not only is the name of *Śākyamuni*, or Śākya, never adverted to in the Sūtra of Pāṇini,²⁶³ but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable

The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss. The Brāhmanic Hindus hope that their soul will ultimately become united with the universal spirit, which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter *Brahman*, and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god. And however indefinite this god *Brahman* may be, it is nevertheless to the mind of the Brāhmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist is *entire nonentity*. This difference between the goal of both created that deep and irreconcilable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brāhmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate. The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brāhmanic creed, like *apavarga*, *moksha*, *mukti*, *mahsreya*, all mean either "liberation from this earthly career" or the "absolute good," they therefore imply a condition of hope. The absolute end of

263 The formation *शक्य* occurs in three *Ganas*, as a derivative from *शक* with *क्त्* in the *Gana* to IV 1 105, with *व्य* to IV 3, 92, but there it becomes doubtful, through the difference in the readings of the MSS, and as a derivation from *शक* with *व्य* in the *Gana* to IV 1, 151

a Buddhist is without hope, it is *nirvāṇa* or extinction. This word means literally "blown out," but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brāhmanic and in the Buddhist literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction*, i.e., absolute annihilation of the soul. I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāṇa*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "blown out," or a sense immediately connected with it. Thus Patañjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances "the fire is blown out by the wind, the lamp is blown out by the wind," and Kaṣyapa who, on the same occasion, observes that phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāṇo* vātaḥ" but by *nirvāto* vātaḥ," corroborates the instances of Patañjali with one of his own "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind." But Pāṇini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says "(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāṇa* (if the word means) 'free from wind,' (or, 'not blowing, as wind')." 264

This is the natural interpretation of Pāṇini's rule *Kāṣyapa*, it is true, gives a *Vārttika* which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhīdhāne* "(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing)," yet it is very remarkable that Patañjali, in commenting on this *Vārttika*, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named, it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation "(this *Vārttika* is given in order to show)

264 VIII. 2, 50 निर्वाणोऽवाते — *Kāṣyapa* अवानभिधाने — Patañjali : अवानभिधान इति वक्तव्यम् (these words have been mistaken for the *Vārttika* itself, in the Calcutta edition) । इहापि यथा स्यात् । निर्वाणोऽभिधानेन । निर्वाण प्रदीपो वातेनेति—*Kaṣyapa* अवानभिधान इति । तेन निर्वाणो वात इत्यथैव न त्वनिषेधो न तु भावे निहायामिति निर्वाण वातेनेति भाव्यमिति वार्तिककारस्य दर्शनम् । अन्ये तु वातकर्तृके धात्वर्थे सर्वत्र निषेधमिच्छन्ति । निर्वाणो वात । निर्वात वातेनेति । निर्वाण प्रदीपो वातेनेत्यत्र तु वात कर्णमिति प्रतिषेधमात्र ।

that (*nirvāna*) is also or is emphatically used in the following instances " Still he has no instance whatever for the sense stated by Pāṇini, and his word 'also' or "emphatically,' does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhūdhāne* without any additional remark

In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances : The sense of *nirvāna*, "free from wind (or not blowing)," had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhistic faith But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, "wind-still," of Pāṇini, and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed

The task I had proposed to myself would now seem to have reached its natural close for the present, yet if, after this brief and imperfect attempt to do justice to one of the most difficult questions of Sanskrit literature, I were now to take leave of Pāṇini, even temporarily, without devoting a special word to Patañjali, I should fail in gratitude to this great teacher, who has supplied us with nearly all the materials for this discussion and its results

"At what time," says Professor Muller,²⁶⁵ "the Mahābhāshya was first composed, it is impossible to say Patañjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala, and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāshya belonged to the third century But the identity of Pingala and Patañjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations "

265 Ancient Sanskrit Literature p 244 [Chowkhambā Edn p 217]

This is the only date, the fixing of which is called "impossible," in Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patañjali as the only one which I should venture to determine with anything like certainty.

I do so, because Patañjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pāṇḍit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions the time when he actually did live

"If a thing," says Pāṇini, "serves for a livelihood, but is the not for sale" (it has not the affix *ka*) This rule Patañjali illustrates with the words "Śiva, Śkanda, Viśakha," meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,— while they are not for sale. And, "why?" he asks "The Mauryas wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities Good, (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols, as they sold), but as to idols which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka* " 266

266 V 3, 99 जीविनां चाप्ये—Patañjali . अप्य इत्युच्यते तत्रैव न सिद्ध्यति । शिव स्कन्दो विद्यालय इति । किं कारणम् । गौर्यैर्हित्वायिस्त्रिणां प्रवर्तिता । भवेद । तासु न स्यात् । यासुवेना सम्प्रतिपूजार्था । तासु भविष्यति —Kaiyyara यास्त्वेता इति । या परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमयनि तासित्वा । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवशान्तिनीगीन इति Nāgajibhāṣya गौर्या विक्रितुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्नरैरेत्यां कथित्वा (MS 351 गौर्या विक्रीतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्नरैः ॥ , MS 1200 गौर्या विक्रीतुं प्रतिमां शिल्पवन्नरैः ॥) । विप्रनुमिति शेषोऽस्मात्ता पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्यय अरणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः । तत्र प्रत्ययव्यवर्णमिष्टमेवेति उदन्त्यस्योदाहरण दर्शयति । भवेदित्यादि । यासुवेना इति च । सम्प्रतिपूजार्था । सम्प्रतिस्वनिर्माणमकारमेव पञ्चानिना या () पूजा जातिराप्रदत्त्वेन तदर्थं इत्यर्थस्तदाह । या परिगृह्यति । यास्तु गृहे पूज्य ते शिष्टेस्तासु शिवभेदबुद्धे सत्त्वेन मादृश्यबुद्ध्याभावेन प्रत्ययस्वीक्यामाव । एव चिदप्यपि दृश्यम् ।

Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patañjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which *they* sell', because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made — as poor people do,— I know not. But, at all events, he tells us distinctly by these words that he did not live before the first king of the Maurya dynasty who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B.C. And I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words, that he tells us, on the contrary, that he lived *after the last king* of this dynasty, or in other words later than 180 before Christ. But he has even been good enough to relieve us from a possibility of this doubt when commenting on another rule of Pāṇini, or rather on a criticism attached to it by Kātyāyana.

In Sūtra III 2 111, Pāṇini teaches that the imperfect must be used, when the speaker relates a past fact belonging to a time which precedes the present day. Kātyāyana improves on this rule by observing that it is used, too, when the fact related is *out of sight notorious but could be seen by the person who uses the verb*. And Patañjali again appends to this Vārttika the following instances and remark: "*The Yavana besieged (imperfect) Ayodhya the Yavana besieged (imperfect) the Madhyamika*". Why does Kātyāyana say, '*out of sight*'? (because in such an instance as) '*the sun rose*' (the verb must be in the aorist). Why '*notorious*'? (because in such an instance as) '*Devadatta made a mat*' (the verb must be in the preterite). Why does he say '*but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb*'? (because in such an instance as) '*According to a legend Vāsudeva killed Kansa*' (the verb must likewise be in the preterite) 267

267 III 2 111 नयने लृट् — Kātyāyana परोक्षे च लोपविज्ञाने प्रयोक्तृदर्शनविषये — Patañjali परोक्षे च लोपविज्ञाने प्रयोक्तृदर्शनविषये लृट् वक्तव्यम् । अन्त्यवत् साकेतम् । जयस्यवतो माण्डिमित्तम् ॥ परोक्ष इति किमर्थम् । उदगागदित्व । लोपविज्ञान इति किमर्थम् । चारु वट देवत्त ॥ प्रयोक्तृदर्शनविषय इति किमर्थम् । जयन् वम विह दामुदेव — Kaṣyapa परोक्षे चेति । अननुभूतत्वात्परोक्षोऽपि प्रत्यक्षयोग्यतामानात्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभावात् — Nagojibhatta on these instances of Patañjali माधवे ज्ञानेति किम् । स दधो हि नेदानीन्तनप्रयोक्तृदर्शन-

Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nāgojibhatta, that he lived at the time — though he was not on the spot — when “*the Yavana besieged Ayodhyā*,” and at the time when “*the Yavana besieged the Mūḍhamikas*” For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a proper use of the imperfect tense

Now the *Mūḍhamikas* are the well known Buddhistic sect which was founded by Nāgārjuna²⁶⁸ But here, it would seem, that at this early state we are already at a chronological standstill For the Northern Buddhists say that Nāgārjuna lived 400, and the Southern Buddhists that he lived 500, years after Buddha's death And again, while we believed that the researches of that admirable work of Professor Lassen had finally settled this latter date, and “for a last time,”—while we believed, in other words that it was 543 before Christ, Professor Muller seizes and shakes it once more and makes Buddha die 477 before Christ Were I to agree with the opinion which he has elsewhere expressed,²⁶⁹ that “in the history of Indian

मोक्षोऽपीत्यर्थः । अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकारं प्रवर्तते (इति बो दम् — That these instances concern the moment at which Patañjali wrote them, is therefore certain, beyond all doubt But we obtain at the same time an insight into the critical condition of the later commentaries on Pāṇini, when we find, for instance, that the Kāśikā copies these instances, but without saying that they belong to Patañjali The same is the case in the present edition of Pāṇini On account of the importance of this passage of the Mahābhāṣya, I will remind the reader that it is contained in the MS E I H No, 330, the only one I could consult The two MSS of the Kāśikā in the library of the E I H have instead of माध्वमिकान् a word मध्वमिकान्, but since the latter is not only meaningless but grammatically wrong, there can be no doubt that the reading of the MS 330 is the only correct one

268 See Burnouf's Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, Vol I p 359 Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II p 1163 and the quo attens there

269 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 243 [Chowkhamba Edn p 216]

literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised," I should be out of all my difficulties. For since the difference stated as regards the life of Nāgārjuna would not amount to more than 166 years, it would fall within the allotted space. But I am not so easily satisfied. Dates in Sanskrit literature, as anywhere else, are either no dates at all — and then they are not so much as precarious — or they are dates, and then we must look closely at them.

The doubt which Prof Muller has expressed in reference to the assumed date of Buddha's death, viz., 543 B C, are by no means mere vague and personal doubts. On the contrary, they are embodied in an elaborate discussion, which not only proves a conscientious research, but is extremely valuable on account of the opportunity it gives of surveying the real difficulties of the question, and of forming one's own opinion, with greater safety and ease. And, whether dissenting from him or not, one is happy to deal with his arguments.

My objection to them may be summed up in the commencing and the closing words of his own investigation.

"It has been usual," he says in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (p 264*), "to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B C. But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak. It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness. This may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka. In historical times any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful, but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning. As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism, as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brāhmanas."

* Chowkhamba Edn p 235

And, towards the close of his inquiry, he expresses himself thus (p 298*) —“At the time of Aśoka’s inauguration, 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of Buddha. Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B C and not 543 B C. Again, at the time of Chandragupta’s accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha’s death. Hence Buddha was supposed to have died $315 + 162 = 477$ B C.”

In quoting these two passages, I show at once that Professor Muller attaches no faith to the tradition which concerns the date of Buddha’s death, but that he attaches faith to that which places Aśoka 218, and Chandragupta 162, years after that event. But if tradition is to be believed in one portion of the history connected with the rise and progress of the Buddhist faith, why not in another, and in all? The arguments which are good for the one case will equally apply to the other, and if tradition be wrong in fixing Buddha’s death at 543 B C, we must also reject it when giving the dates 162 and 218, and the sum total will then have no quantities out of which it can be produced. And this objection would seem to derive additional force from the very words of Professor Muller just quoted, for he says himself that the argument in favour of the date 543 B C, so far as it is founded on the practical use made of this date, “may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka.” But 218 after Buddha’s death, is the date of Aśoka himself, and 162 that of Chandragupta, who preceded that king. Both, consequently, would, in Professor Muller’s opinion, deserve the same amount of belief as the date of Buddha’s death itself.

The grounds on which Professor Muller differs from Professor Lassen have been fully discussed by him, as already observed, but as the essentials of this discussion lie in a nutshell, they admit of being here stated in reference to the question which actually concerns us.

Both scholars assume — and so long as Greek chronology deserves any credit at all, they do so, I hold, without the

possibility of a contradiction — that Chandragupta, who is Sandrocottus reigned 315 B C Buddhist tradition, however, says that he lived 162 years after Buddha's death, which means that if this event took place 543 B C, he reigned 381 B C But since 315 must be right, and 381 must be wrong, either Buddha's death occurred 477 B C, or Chandragupta lived 66 years later than Hindu traditions allow him to live, viz, 288 years after 543 B C Lassen decides in favour of the latter alternative, no doubt, by saying to himself that since there is an error of 66 years, it was more likely committed by tradition in remembering the duration of the reign of kings who preceded Chandragupta, than in recording an event that was engrossing the national mind, and much more important of the national feeling and interest than an exact chronicle of by-gone, and some of them insignificant, kings Muller prefers the precise tradition of 162 years, and therefore arrives at 477 B C as the date of Buddha's death

Let us return, after this statement, to the events which Patañjali tells us occurred in his time, and confront them with the opinions of the two scholars named

If Nāgārjuna lived 400 years after Buddha's death, his date, according to Professor's Lassen's conclusion, would be 143,— or, if he lived 500 years after this event, 53 years B C Again, his date, according Professor Muller's conclusions, would be 77 B C, or 23 after Christ But I must mention, too, that Professor Lassen, on the ground occupied by him, supposes a further mistake of 66 years in the tradition which places Nāgārjuna 500 years after Buddha's death, and that he thus also advocates the date of the founder of the Mādhyamikas as 23 years after Christ²⁰ Now, since the sect which was founded by Nāgārjuna existed not only simultaneously with, but after, him, that event which was contemporaneous with Patañjali and the Mādhyamikas, *the siege of Ayodhyā by the Yavana* must have occurred within or below the circle of these dates The latter alternative, however, is again checked by the date of Abhimanyu, who reigned about 60 years after Christ,

for we know from the chronicle of Kashmir that he introduced into his country the Commentary of Patañjali, which must consequently have been in existence during his reign

In other words, the extreme point within which this historical event must have fallen, are the years 143 before, and 60 after Christ, and as in the time of Abhimanyu the Great Commentary had already suffered much, according to the report of Rājataranginī, it is necessary to limit even the latter date by, at least, several years

Yet the word "*Yavana*" carries with it another corrective of this uncertainty. According to the researches of Professor Lassen it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, viz., between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word *Yavana* can only apply to the Greco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B C ²⁷¹. And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyā. It is *Menandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jumna river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurā. He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B C ²⁷².

If then this inference be correct, Patañjali must have written his commentary on the *Vārttika* to Pāṇini III 2, 111, between 140 and 120 B C., and this is the only date in the ancient literature of India which, in my belief, rests on more than mere hypothesis

But it has also the merit of giving that "new evidence" which Professor Müller requires for a corroboration of the chronology of Ceylon. For none of the fluctuating dates I have mentioned will allow us to look upon Menandros and the Mādhyamikas as contemporaries, except the date 153, which was the extreme limit of the date of Nāgārjuna's life. And since, on the basis of tradition, this date again becomes impossible,—unless we claim amongst those alleged, 543 for

271 Ibid vol II, p 322

272 Ibid vol II p 328

the time of Buddha's death, and 400 years for the succession of Nāgārjuna, — Patañjali's Great Commentary becomes invaluable also in this respect, and more especially to those who are concerned in Buddhist chronology

Of the lineage of Patañjali all the knowledge I possess is that the name of his mother was *Gonikā* ²⁷³ It occurs in the last words of Patañjali on a *Kārikā* to Pāṇini Of more importance, however, is the information he gives us of his having resided temporarily in *Kashmir* ²⁷⁴ for this circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain Kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary

His birthplace must have been situated in the East of India, for he calls himself *Gonardiya* ²⁷⁵ and this word is given by the *Kāśikā* in order to exemplify names of places in the East Patañjali's birthplace had therefore the name of *Gonarda* ²⁷⁶

273 Patañjali, after quoting the *Kārikās* to I 4, 51 gives his own opinion, and concludes with these words (MS E I H No 171) उभयथा गोणिकापुत्र — Nāgajibhatta गोणिकापुत्रो भाष्यकार इत्याहुः (thus MS E I H, 349, the MS 120B गोणिकापु०)

274 III 2, 114 विभाषा साकाह्वे — Patañjali किमुदाहरणम् । अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु यत्त्वाम् । तत्र सक्तुं पास्याम् । अभिजानामि देवदत्त कश्मीरानगच्छाम् । तत्र सक्तुं पिबाम् । भवेत् । पूर्वं परमाकाङ्क्षतीति साकाह्वे स्यात् । पर तु कथं साकाह्वन् । परमपि साकाह्वन् । अस्त्वस्मिन्साकाह्वेत्यतः साकाह्वन् — Kāśyāpāna विभाषा साकाह्वे सर्वत्र — Patañjali विभाषा साकाह्वे सर्वत्रेति वक्तव्यम् । क सर्वत्र । यदि चायदि च ॥ यदि तावत् । अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत्कश्मीरानामिष्याम् । यत्कश्मीरानगच्छाम् । यत्तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे । यत्तत्रौदनमभुञ्जमहि ॥ अयदि । अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरानामिष्याम् । कश्मीरानगच्छाम् । तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे । तत्रौदनमभुञ्जमहि ॥

275 Patañjali to I 1, 21, v 2 (of the Calcutta edition, p 412 ed Ballantyne) गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह् etc — Kāśyāpā : भाष्यकारस्त्वाह् etc — Nāgajibhatta, गोनर्दीयपदं व्याचष्टे । भाष्यकार इति — It is on this authority that the word *Gonardiya* has found a place amongst the epithets of Patañjali in Hemachandra's Glossary

276 The *Kārikās* to I 1, 75 इह मावा देवे, gives the instances एणीयचनाय । गोनर्दीय । भोजकटीय । गोनरीय (thus MS III I H 2440, the MS 829 which is generally more incorrect than the former, has the plurals instead of the singulars "या) Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II, p 484) assumes a connection between Gonar-

But that he is one of the eastern grammarians is borne out also by other evidence. Kaiyyāṭa calls him on several occasions *Āchāryadesīya* 277. If we interpreted this word according to Pāṇini's rules V 3, 67 and 68, it would mean "an unaccomplished teacher," but as there is not the slightest reason for assuming that Kaiyyāṭa intended any irony or blame when he applied this epithet to Patañjali, it is necessary to render the word by the teacher "who belongs to the country of the Āchārya." Now, since Kaiyyāṭa also distinctly contrasts *Āchārya*, as the author of the *Vārttikas*, with *āchāryadesīya*, the latter epithet can only imply that Patañjali was a countryman of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana, however, as Professor Weber has shown by very good arguments, is one of the eastern school, Kaiyyāṭa, therefore, must have looked upon Patañjali also as belonging to it.

Another proof is afforded by a passage in the comment of Bhaṭṭojīdikṣita on the *Phitsūtras* which I have quoted above 278

drya and Gonarda, the name of a king of Kashmir, but I believe that my explanation is supported by the whole evidence combined.

277 For instance, Patañjali to VI 1, 158, v 1 (of the Calcutta edition) writes यदि पुनरयमधिकारो विज्ञायेत etc., and Kaiyyāṭa introduces his comment on these words with आचार्यदेशाय आह यदि पुनरिति and so on, in a similar manner, on other occasions. An instance, however, which will better bear out my conclusion, is afforded by the combined *Vārttika* *Āṅgikā* of Kātyāyana (see note 114), and the commentaries to V 2, 39. After the words of the *Sūtra*, Patañjali says किमर्थं परिमाण इत्युच्यते । न प्रमाण इति वर्तते । एव तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्परिमाणमहं करोति तद्व्याप यत्वाचार्य । अन्यत्प्रमाणमन्यत्परिमाणमिति, then follows the first *Vārttika* (or first portion of the *Āṅgikā* of Kātyāyana) दावनावर्थं न देशेयान्निर्देशं वृथमुच्यते, which again is followed by the further comment of Patañjali. In reference to this passage Kaiyyāṭa expresses himself in this way किमर्थमिति । प्रमा परिमाणशब्दयोरेकार्थत्वं मत्वा प्रश्न । न प्रमाण इति वर्तते इति । काका नन प्रयोगादतन एवेत्यर्थः । अथवानेकार्थत्वापिपालनाना ननुशब्दस्यार्थं ननुशब्दो वर्तते । आचार्यदेशाय आह । एव तर्हि । आचार्य आह दावनाविति etc. He therefore contrasts *āchārya*, who is the author of the *Vārttika* *Daṇavā*, with *āchāryadesīya*, who is Patañjali.

For when this grammarian tells us that the *eastern* grammarians attribute the accent in question of *saha* to Pāṇini's rule VI 3, 78, we find that it is *Patañjali* himself who gives us this information and without any intimation of his having obtained it from other authorities

I conclude these few remarks on our great teacher with an account which *Bhartrhari* gives to the early history of the *Mahābhāshya*. It is of considerable interest, in as much as we learn from it that there was a party of grammarians who preferred to it the *Sangraha* (of Vyādi), and still more so, as it informs us, that *Patañjali's* Commentary was founded on this great grammatical work of the relative of Pāṇini. The passage in question occurs at the end of the second chapter of *Bhartrhari's Vākya-pāṇi*, and, in reference to the word *Bhāshya*, which immediately precedes it, makes the following statement. 279

279 The text of this passage belongs to the MS No 954 in the Library of the Home Government for India, which in a few days will have ceased to be the Library of the East India House. It bears on its outer leaf the corrupt title वाक्यपदीभ्याकर, but at the end of its three chapters the words इति श्रीमर्तुर्द्विने वाक्यपदीये प्रथमकाण्डे (sic), द्वितीय काण्डम्, तृतीय काण्डम् —I call it *Vākya-pāṇi*, because, the MS in question being very incorrect I cannot give its reading any preference to the reading वाक्यपदीय by which this work is several times quoted in the portion of the *Mahābhāshya* edited by Dr Ballantyne. For, the identity of both results from a comparison I have made between the passages quoted in this highly valuable edition and the MS before me. It is right, however, to mention that the second chapter of the work concludes in this MS in the following manner मर्तुर्द्विने वाक्यपदीये द्वितीय काण्डम् । समाप्ता वाक्यपरदीपिका, where the reading वाक्यपरदीपिका, when corrected to विद्या, admits of a sense, but suggests also the conjecture that it may be corruption of वाक्यपरदीपिका. I now transcribe the passage in question literally in order to show the condition of the MS, and also to enable the reader to supply better conjectures than I may have made, but some conjectures I have been compelled to make in order to impart a meaning to a few very desperate lines. These conjectures are added in [] After the words एवमेवेन निर्देशो भाष्य एव प्रदर्शित, which are connected with the

"After Patañjali had obtained the aid of [or had come to] grammarians who had mastered the new sciences more or less [*literally* in their full extent and in their abridged form], and after he had acquired the *Sangraha* [of Vyādi], he, the Guru, well versed in the sacred sciences, connected all the original *nyūyas* in the Mahābhāshya. But when it was discovered that this Commentary could not be fathomed on account of its depth, and that the minds of those who were not quite accomplished floated, as it were, on the surface in consequence of their levity, those grammarians who liked dry reasoning, Vaiṣṭi, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, who were partisans of the *Sangraha*, cut in pieces the book of the Rshi [Patañjali]. That grammatical document [or manuscript of the Mahābhāshya], which was obtained from the pupils of Patañjali, then remained for some time preserved in one copy only amongst the inhabitants of the Dekhan Chandra, again and other grammarians, who went after the original of the Bhāshya, obtained this document from Parvata, and converted it into many books [*that is to say*, took many copies of it], and my Guru, who thoroughly knew the ways of logical discussion and his own Darśana, taught me the compendium of this grammatical work " 240

subject treated of in the second chapter, *Bhartṛhari* continues प्रायेण सङ्क्षेपतुचो न च्यविद्यापरिग्रहान् [प्रायेण सङ्क्षेपतश्च न न्यविद्यापरिग्रहान्] सम्प्राप्य वैयाकृत्यान् सङ्क्षेपे मुपागते [सम्प्राप्य वैयानुरणान्सङ्क्षेपे समुपागते] इत्येव पातञ्जलिना गुरुणा नीर्यदक्षिणा [कृतञ्च पातञ्जलिना] । सर्वेषा न्यायवीनाना महामाध्वे निदधने [निदधने] । अलङ्काराध्वे शास्त्रीयैर्दुत्तान इव मौढवान् [अलङ्काराध्वे शास्त्रीयैर्दुत्तान इव मौढवान्] । तस्मिन्नवृत्तबुद्धीना नैवानास्तिरतिदक्षय [नैवानस्ति] । वैतिसौमवद यक्षे ["क्षे"] शुक्लवर्णानुसारिणि । आर्षे निलविते ग्रन्थे [ग्रन्थे] समग्रप्रतिकृत्युक्ते ["के"] । य पातञ्जलिस्थित्येभ्यो अष्टो न्याकरणागम [य पातञ्जलिस्थित्येभ्योऽभ्यष्टो] । कालेन दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रथमात्रे [ग्रन्थ] व्यवस्थित । पर्वतदारण्यक एव वा माध्यवानानुसारिणि । स नीलो वदशास्त्रल च द्रष्टव्यादिभि [चन्द्रा] पुन । न्यायप्रस्थानभाषा स्तानम्यस्य स्व [स्व] च दर्शनम् । प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसग्रह [प्रणीतो गुरुणा स्नाकमय] The subsequent words, which conclude the second chapter,

280 This passage will now aid us also in a correct understanding of the interesting verse from the *Rājataranginī*, which has been quoted, but blight-

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No one, indeed, can be more alive than I am myself to the conviction of how much may be added, in the way of detail, to the facts I have adduced¹, for, however imperfect my present attempt and my own knowledge may be, I still could have largely increased the foregoing inquiry with materials taken from the Brāhmana-, Upanishad-, and the philosophical literature I have not done more than allude to the contents of

ed by Dr Boehtlingk in the version he gives of it (vol II p xv and xvi) This verse reads in the Calcutta edition of the latter work (I 176) चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्धदेशे तस्मात्तदागमम् । प्रवर्तितं मन्त्रावाक्यं स च व्याकरणं कृतम्
Mr Troyer, in his edition, substitutes for the latter words च द्रव्याकरणं कृतम् Both readings are alike good, for they convey the same sense, and the correction च वादेशम् for लब्धदेशम्, as proposed by Dr Boehtlingk, is no doubt also good But the double mistake he has committed in this single verse consists first in giving to अगमम् the sense of 'coming', whereas the passage from the Vākyapadīya proves that it must there have the sense of "a written document or manuscript", and secondly, in arbitrarily assigning to the causal of प्रवृत्त the sense of "introducing" in its European figurative sense which the causal of प्रवृत्त never has The verse in question would therefore not mean, as Dr Boehtlingk translates it 'After the teacher Chandra and others had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order to come there (or to him), they introduced the Mahābhāṣya and composed a grammar of their own' —but After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order, they established a text of the Mahābhāṣya, such as it could be established by means of his MS of this work (literally they established a Mahābhāṣya which possessed his — the King's — grammatical document, or, after they had received from him the order and his MS they established the text of the Mahābhāṣya) and composed their own grammars For we know now that Chandra and the other grammarians of King Abhimanyu obtained such as āgama or manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya from Parvata, and according to the corresponding verse of the Rājataranginī, it becomes probable that this MS came into possession of Abhimanyu

Pāṇini's Grammar and I have scarcely hinted at the linguistic results which may be derived from a comparison between Kātyāyana and Patañjali, on the one side, and the recent grammatical literature (which is represented by the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī with its Praudha manoramā, and the commentators on the Dhātupāṭha and the artificial poetry), on the other. For my present object was merely to convey a sense of the inherent difficulties of the questions I have been speaking of, and while tracing the outlines of my own results, to offer so much evidence as was strictly necessary for supporting them with substantial proof.

Before, however, I add some words on the *practical object* I had in view in entering upon this investigation both justice and fairness require me to avow that the immediate *impulse* which led to the present attempt was due to Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature. So great is my reluctance to the public discussion of literary questions, if such a discussion requires a considerable amount of controversy, and so averse am I to raising an edifice of my own, if, in order to do so, I am compelled to damage structures already in existence, that this feeling would in all probability have prevented me now, as it has done hitherto, from giving public expression to my views, had it not been for the importance I attach to Müller's work. This work reached me, as already mentioned, when the first pages of this [Dissertation] were completed, and it was the new material it brought to light, and the systematic and finished form by which its author imparted to his theories a high degree of plausibility, which induced me to oppose to it the facts I have here made known and the results I have drawn for them.

And, as everyone has his own way of paying compliments, this avowal is the compliment which I pay to Professor Müller's work. For as I myself care but little for blame, and much less for praise, so long as I consider that I have fulfilled my duty, I could not but assume that he, too, would much prefer, to un instructive panegyrics which anyone could inflict on him, such dissent as I have here expressed, as I can only lead either to confirmation of the opinions he has advanced,

or, by correcting them, to an attainment of that scientific truth for which both of us are earnestly labouring ²⁸¹

And now I shall speak my mind as to the necessity I felt for writing these pages in view of *the present critical position of Sanskrit philology*

The study of Sanskrit commenced, not with the beginning but the end of Sanskrit literature. It could not have done otherwise, since it had to discover, as it were, the rudiments of the language itself, and even the most necessary meanings of the most necessary words. We have all been thankful — and our gratitude will never suffer through forgetfulness — for the great advantage we have derived from an insight into the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Hitopadeśa, the Śakuntalā, through the labours of those great scholars, Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Bopp, and others, who are before the mind's eye of every Sanskritist. But the time of pleasure had to give way to a time of more serious research. The plays and fables are delightful in themselves, but they do not satisfy the great interests of Sanskrit philology. Our attention is now engrossed, and rightly so, by the study of grammar, of philosophy, and, above all, of that literature of ancient India, which — very vaguely and, in some respects, wrongly, but at all events conveniently — goes by the name of the Vaidika literature. With the commencement of that study we always associate in our minds such great names as those of a Colebrooke, a Wilson, a Burnouf, a Lassen, the courageous and ingenious pioneers who opened the path on which we are now travelling with greater safety and ease.

But whence was it that they were able to unfold to us the first secrets of ancient Hindu religion, of ancient Hindu philosophy and scientific research? It was through the aid of the commentaries, in the first rank of which stands that of Patañ-

²⁸¹ Almost simultaneously with the last proof sheets I received the second edition of Professor Müller's 'History of Sanskrit Literature'. As both editions entirely correspond in their typographical arrangement, and I believe, in their contents also the quotations here made from the first edition, will be found on the same pages of the second.

jali, in the second the work of those master minds, the most prominent of whom are Śankara and Mādhava-Sāyana. Without the vast information these commentators have disclosed to us, — without their method of explaining the obscurest texts, — in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at outer doors of Hindu antiquity.

But to understand the value of these great commentators and exegetes, we must bear in mind the two essentials which have given them the vast influence which they have acquired. The first is the *traditional*, and the second the *grammatical*, element that pervades their works.

The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition. *Śruti*, or Veda, was revealed to the Rshis of the Vaidika hymns. Next to it comes *Smṛti*, or tradition, which is based on *the revealed texts, and which is authoritative only in so far as it is in accordance with them*. Hence a commentator like *Mādhava-Sāyana*, for instance, considered it as incumbent on him to prove that he had not merely mastered the Vaidika texts, but the *Mīmāṃsā* also, one portion of which is devoted to this question of the relation between *Śruti* and *Smṛti* — works. It is known that he is one of the principal writers on the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy. Without tradition, the whole religious development of India would be a shadow without reality, a phantom too vague to be grasped by the mind. Tradition tells us through the voice of the commentators, who re-echo the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inference they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical, — in a word, on their national, development. And this is the real, the practical, and therefore the truly scientific interest they have for us, for all other interest is founded on theories devoid of substance and proof, is imaginary and phantastical.

But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sāyana, or even a copy of him, like Mahidhara, contented himself with being the mouth piece of his predecessors or ancestors. They not only record the sense of the Vaidika texts

and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself*. And this proof, which they give whenever there is the slightest necessity for it—and in the beginning of their exegesis, even there is no apparent necessity for it, merely in order to impress on the reader the basis on which they stand,—this proof is the great grammatical element in these commentatorial works.

In short, these great Hindu commentators do not merely explain the meanings of words, but they justify them, or endeavour to justify them, on the ground of the grammar of PĀNINI the *Vārtikas* of KĀTYĀYANA and the *Mahābhāṣya* of PATAÑJALI.

Let us recall, then, the position we have vindicated for Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in the ancient literature, and consider how far this ground is solid ground and how far, and when, we may feel justified in attaching a doubt to the decisions of so great a scholar as Sāyana.

We have seen that within the whole range of Sanskrit literature so far as it is known to us, only the Samhitās of the Rg- Sāma and Black- Yajurveda and among individual authors, only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini,—that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to his eight grammatical books. We have seen, moreover, that Kātyāyana knew the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, and that, in consequence, we may assign to him, without fear of contradiction, a knowledge of the principal other Brāhmaṇas known to us, and probably of the Atharva-veda also.

Such being the case, we must then conclude that Sāyana was right in assenting to Patañjali, who, throughout his Introduction to Pāṇini, shows that Pāṇini's Grammar was written in strict reference to the Vaidika Samhitās, which, as I may now contend, were the three principal Samhitās. He is right, too, in appealing, wherever there is need, to the Vārtikas of

Kātyāyana, for the latter endorses the rules of Pāṇini when he does not criticise them, and completes them wherever he thinks that Pāṇini has omitted to notice a fact. And since we have found that the Rk Prāṭisākhya fulfils the same object as these Vārttikas, viz that of completing the rules of Pāṇini, and that Kātyāyana's Prāṭisākhya, which is later than that attributed to Śaunaka, preceded his own Vārttikas, we must grant, too, that he was right in availing himself of the assistance of those works, all of which are prior to the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.

That analogous conclusions apply to the Ishtis of Patañjali and to the Phitsūtras of Śāntana is obvious.

But it is from the *chronological position* in which these works stand to one other that we may feel justified in occasionally *criticising the decisions of Sāyana*. Without a knowledge of it, or at least without a serious and conscientious attempt at obtaining it, all criticisms on Sāyana lay themselves open to the reproach of mere arbitrariness and superficiality.

For, if the results here maintained be adopted, good and substantial reasons — which, however, would first have to be proved — might allow us to doubt the correctness of a decision of Sāyana if for instance, he rejected an interpretation of a word that would follow from a rule of Pāṇini, on the sole ground that Kātyāyana did not agree with Pāṇini, or, if he interpreted a word merely on the basis of a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, we might fairly question his decision, if we saw reason to apply to the case a rule of Pāṇini, perhaps not criticised by Kātyāyana. Again, if we had substantial reasons for doing so, we might oppose our views to those of Sāyana when he justified a meaning by the aid of the Phitsūtras alone, though these Sūtras may be at variance with Pāṇini, for we should say that these Sūtras, "when compared to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day."

In short, the greater the distance becomes between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have a plausible ground for looking forward, in preference

to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head Even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge, if we found Yāska opposed to him, and Gārgya, Śākalya, Śakatāyana, or the other predecessors of Pāṇini, would deserve more serious consideration than himself, if we were able to see that they maintained a sense of a Vaidika word which is differently rendered by him

This is the critical process to which I hold that the commentaries of Sāyana may be subjected, should it be deemed necessary to differ from them

These remarks apply, of course, only to the Samhitās which preceded Pāṇini, for, as to the literature which was posterior to him, Kātyāyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority, and after him comes Patañjali : I need not go further, for I have sufficiently explained the method I advocate, and the exception I take to that dogmatical schooling of these ancient authorities, which, so far from taking the trouble of conscientiously ascertaining their *relative chronological position in the literature* merely exhibits, at every step, its own want of scholarship

I must now, though reluctantly take a glance at the manner in which the Vaidika texts, more especially their groundwork, the Samhitās, nay, how the whole Sanskrit literature itself, is dealt with by those who profess to be our teachers and our authorities And still more reluctantly must I advert to one work especially, which, above all others, has set itself up as our teacher and authority — the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy

The principles on which this work deals with the Vaidika texts are expressed by Professor Roth in his preface to it, in the following words ²³³ "Therefore we do not believe, as H H

²³³ "Sanskrit Wörterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Bohtlingk und Rudolph Roth" Preface, p v

Wilson does,²⁸³ that Sāyana better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says, on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sāyana. We do not consider in the [our] immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago,²⁸⁴ but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. We consequently hold that the writings of Sāyana and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task, which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual. On this account we have much regretted that the meritorious edition of the commentary on the Rgveda, by Müller, is not yet more advanced.²⁸⁵

“We have, therefore, endeavoured to take the road which is prescribed by philology, to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the passages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense, a road which is slow and tedious, and which, indeed, has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators. Our double lot has, therefore, been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers. The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by

²⁸³ Note of Professor Roth. “Rg-Veda Samhitā. A collection of ancient Hindu hymns, etc. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By H. H. Wilson. London, 1850 I., p. 25.”

²⁸⁴ Note of Professor Roth. “Wilson, a a O II p xiii.” But the page quoted by Professor Roth does not contain one single word in reference to the passage which he apparently intends to bear out.

²⁸⁵ The first part of the Dictionary of Professor Roth and Dr Bohtlingk was issued in 1852, the first volume, which is prefaced by the words quoted, in 1856, the first and second part of the second volume in 1856, the third part of the same volume in 1857. Professor Müller's first volume of the Rgveda appeared in 1849, the second in 1854, the third in 1856.

those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result" 286

It would be but common fairness to allow these words of Professor Roth to be followed by the entire preface which the lamented Professor Wilson has prefixed to the second volume of his invaluable translation of the Rgveda the more so, as his views have been unscrupulously distorted in the statement here quoted, for though his views are supposed to be refuted by this passage, they could not shine brighter, in genuine modesty, in true scholarship, and in thorough common sense, than when placed by the side of this passage, which I will not qualify but analyse. But as I could not easily quote some twenty pages from Professor Wilson's excellent work, and as I should scarcely do justice to the manes of that distinguished man if I did not allow him to give his full answer, I must leave it to the reader to obtain for himself that contrast to which I here advert.

If, then, we analyse the ideas and principles presented in the passage just quoted, they come before us to the following effect —

(1) Sāyana gives us only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than Sāyana and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the Veda

286 In reference to this view of Professor Roth of the relation of the Hindu commentators to the Vaidika hymns Professor Weber says in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,' vol. X p. 575. "Allem was darüber gesagt ist schliessen wir uns auf das Unbedingteste und Entschiedenste an," i.e. "To all that has been said on it [on this relation, in the Preface of the Wörterbuch] we [we, does Professor Weber speak in his own name or in that of the whole Dictionary-company?] assent in the most unconditional and in the most peremptory manner."

(3) For, he can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas Sāyana and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess its sense

(4) He is above confining himself to the purely etymological process, which is that of these commentators

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the Veda which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete

Before I give my Vārtikas to these six Sūtras, which define the exegetical position of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I must observe that I am compelled, by the very nature of this Dissertation to leave them in a similar position to that occupied by the *Perface of Professor Roth itself* His *Dictionary is the test of the assertions he makes* The test of my remarks would be a critical review of his Dictionary *I hereby promise him that my earliest leisure will be devoted to this review, especially as my materials for it are not only collected and ready, but so abundant as to give me a difficulty of choice* But my present answer must, of necessity, deal with his generalities only in general terms

(1) Sāyana or the other commentators give us, he intimates, only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago

A bolder statement I defy any scholar to have met with in any book Sāyana incessantly refers to Yāśia All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions* — of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creed of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith in his time, yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large, authoritatively and *without a particle of evidence* that these legends and his version of the Rgveda are but some centuries old I believe, and every learned Hindu will hold with me, that Sāyana would have been hooted out of the country where he lived, had he dared to commit the imposition implied in this charge, on King Bukka,

his lord, or on his countrymen I hope, however, that Professor Roth will free himself from the reproach expressed by these words, by showing on what authority he gives such a piece of information, which is either all important for Europe as well as for India, or places him in the most ridiculous position that is conceivable

(2) When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do, we are entitled to infer that he is, at all events, thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has done I am well aware,—I may add through the pleasure of personal remembrances,—that Professor Roth passed some time at Paris, and some little time in London also, when collecting his valuable materials for his edition of Yāska's Nirukta Only in London and at Oxford, and, in some small measure, at Paris also, are the materials requisite for studying the Vaidika commentaries of Sāyana obtainable in Europe Does Professor Roth intimate by the statement above quoted, that his stay in these cities enabled him to study and copy, for his lexicographical purposes—then not thought of—all the works of Sāyana, or that he, at Tübingen, is in possession of all those materials, the knowledge of which alone could entitle him to claim credit for a statement like that which he has ventured to make ? But I need not pause for his reply He regrets, as we have read, that “the meritorious edition by Muller, of Sāyana's Commentary was not further advanced” when he closed the first volume of his Dictionary Thus, when he began his “exegetical” work, he was only acquainted with the Commentary of Sāyana as far as the first Ashtaka, and when he wrote these lines, he may *perhaps* have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Ashtaka—in other words, no more than a third of Sāyana's whole Commentary on the Rgveda, and yet he ventures to speak of the whole Commentary of Sāyana, and to say that he can do what Sāyana was unable to perform ? But we almost forget the words of Professor Roth are by no means restricted to the Rgveda Commentary alone, it embraces the commentaries to *all the Samhitās* And here I am once more compelled to ask—Does he assert that he knew, when he wrote these words, Sāyana's

Commentary on the Sāma-veda and Taittirīya Samhitā, or even Sāyana's Commentary on the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa ? For surely he would not think of calling that Sāyana's Commentary to this Brāhmaṇa, which has been presented to us extracted and man-
gled in Professor Weber's edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. And yet he has the courage to pass this sweeping condemnation on all these gigantic labours of the Hindu mind, while ignorant of all but the merest fraction of them ?

(3) Professor Roth no doubt enjoys a great advantage when he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word which occurs in them, but I beg to submit that there are many instances in which a Vaidika word does not occur twenty or ten, nor yet five or four times, in the Samhitās. How does he, then, muster his ten or twenty passages, when, nevertheless, he rejects the interpretation of Sāyana ? For it would seem that in such a case the "guessing" of Sāyana, as he calls it, stands on a good ground as his own. But the assurance with which he implies that Sāyana was not capable of mustering ten or twenty passages which are at the command of Professor Roth, presupposes, indeed, in his readers a degree of imbecile credulity which is, no doubt, a happy condition of mind for those who rejoice in it, and perhaps that best fitted for reading assertions like these, but which may not be quite so universal as he seems to assume. Mādhava Sāyana, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, as he tells us himself,—of the most important Brāhmaṇas and a Kalpa work,—Mādhava, the renowned Mīmāṃsist—he, the great grammarian, who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pāṇini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends,—Mādhava, who, on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion, lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,—in short, the great Mādhava, we are told, had not the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of *his own Veda*, which Professor Roth has the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda !

(4) "The purely etymological proceeding," he says, "as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result"

By these words he compels us to infer, in the first instance, that the meanings which Sāyana gives to Vaidika words are purely etymological, for when he illustrates his statement in a subsequent passage, by alleging such instances as "power, sacrifice, food, wisdom, to go, to move," it is clear that his sweeping assertion cannot be considered as merely embracing these six words, which, in his opinion, sometimes admit of a modification of sense. Just as he cancels the whole spirit of Sāyana's commentary, he tells us with the utmost assurance that the whole commentary of Sāyana is purely etymological. There is, I admit, an advantage in boldness, for if you tell a man while gazing on the noon-day sun that he is actually in the darkness of mid-night, he may probably prefer to doubt the evidence of his senses rather than venture to reject the extraordinary news you bring him. I open at random the three quartos of Max Müller, I look at every page once, twice, many times. No doubt Professor Roth must be quite correct, for my eyes are blind. But, since I suffer under this sudden disability, I may at least be permitted to quote that very page from Wilson's preface to the second volume of his translation which Professor Roth quoted above, as if it bore out his statement concerning the "some centuries"

"As many instances of this elliptical construction," we read there, "have been given in the notes of both this and the former volume, a few additional instances will here be sufficient — thus (p 301, v 9) we have the 'grandson of the waters has ascended above the crooked —', 'the broad and golden — spread around' What would the European scholar do here without the Scholiast? He might, perhaps, suspect that the term crooked, curved, or bent, or, as here explained, crooked-going, tortuous, might apply to *the clouds* but he would hesitate as to what he should attach the other epithets to, and the original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*rivers*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admit-

ted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the Scholiast "

Thus, has Sāyana stopped at the etymological sense of "crooked-going," or of "gold-coloured ?

But, in the second instance, though Professor Roth, of course, possesses all the knowledge which these ignorant Hindu commentators were wanting in, he implies by his words, that the meanings he creates in overstepping the purely etymological process, nevertheless rest on it. Since my reply on this point would have to enter into detail, and since I have promised to give *much* detail in the review which will be the commentary on my present remarks, I will merely here state that I know of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity as this Wörterbuch, and which has, at the same time, laid itself open to such serious reproaches of the *profoundest grammatical ignorance*. And, as an etymological proceeding without a thorough knowledge of grammar = etymological thimblery, I may at least here prepare the reader who takes an interest in such plays, for a performance on the most magnificent scale. Or to speak in plain prose, I shall prove to Professor Roth by means of those same authorities which I have so often impressed on the reader's mind, that his Dictionary has created many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical properties of the word, and, in consequence, that his Vaidika exegesis in all these numerous and important instances has just that worth which a Veda revealed by Professor Roth has in comparison with the Veda of India.

(5) The object of Professor Roth = "not to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India = few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases "

This is unquestionably most important intelligence. Sāyana gives us the sense of the Veda, such as it was handed down to him — not indeed a few centuries ago, but from generation to generation immemorial — yet within this Kaliyuga, I suppose Nāgajibhatta, again, we have seen,²⁸⁷ tells us that in the vari-

²⁸⁷ See note 171

our destructions of the world, the Rshis received new revelations from the divinity, which did not affect the eternal sense of the Veda, but merely the order of its words. But now we learn, for the first time, that Professor Roth has received a revelation at Tübingen, which as yet has neither reached the banks of the Thames nor those of the Ganges. He is going to tell us the sense which the original Rshis gave to their songs and phrases, at a period of Hindu antiquity, which is as much within scientific reach as the commencement of the world itself. Who will not hail this revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it?

And yet I have one word more to add in regard to Professor Roth's "direct communication with the Hindu divinities." He does not attach any importance, as he tells us, and abundantly proves, to that Veda which is the foundation of the religious development of India, for that Veda is the Veda of Sāyana, and that Veda, too, which alone concerns us uninspired mortals. But even Professor Roth himself professes, in another part of his Preface, the greatest respect for the native commentaries on theological and ritual books. There he emphatically exclaims (p. iv) "Indeed, for one of the two portions of the Vaidika literature, for the works on theology and the rites, we cannot wish for any better guides than these commentators, accurate in every respect, who follow their texts word for word, who are untiring in repeating everywhere that which they have already said whenever there could arise even the appearance of a misunderstanding, and who sometimes seem rather to have written for us foreigners than for their priestly pupils grown up under these ideas and impressions." How far his work has embodied the conviction expressed in these words which could not have been expressed with greater truth, I shall have to examine in my review. But I fear that these eloquent words must have escaped his memory in the midst of all the revelations he received. On the Rgveda we have already exchanged our views, but not yet on the other Vedas. These are avowedly extracted, or "milked," as the Hindus say, from the Rk. That the Sāmaveda is entirely taken from it, we have

proof,²⁸⁸ and that the metrical parts of the Yajus likewise rests on a version of it, no one will dispute. But both these Vedas are professedly not poetical anthologies. They are purely and simply ritual Vedas, and therefore belong — not only from a Hindu, but from an European point of view also — to the ritual literature. At the Jyotishṭoma, for instance, the priest chants, not the Rg-, but the Sāma-veda hymns, though the verses are apparently the same in both. At the Aśvamedha he mutters, not the Rg-, but the Yajur-veda hymns. This means that, whatever may have been the “original sense” of such Rgveda verses, in their Sāma or Yajur-veda arrangement which, in numerous instances, has brought Rgveda verses of different hymns or books, into a new hymn,—the Sāmaveda hymns and the Yajurveda hymns have only a value as far as their immediate object, the sacrifice, is concerned. Hence even the most transcendental and the most inspired critic has nothing to do in these two Vedas with “the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases,” he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to these verses, in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice. As little as it would be our immediate object, when assisting at the horse sacrifice, to ask what is the etymology of horse? or as little as it would be seasonable to trace the linguistic origin of a cannon-ball when it whistles past our ears, just so little have we to impart “the original sense”—I mean that sense revealed to Professor Roth—to the verses of the Sāma- and Yajur-veda, even when we are “both exegetes and lexicographers.” And yet I shall give abundant proof that, even on these two Vedas, Professor Roth has had revelations of a most astounding character.

(6) “We believe that a conscientious European exegete might understand much more correctly and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sāyana.” I should encroach on the judgment of the reader, if I ventured upon any remarks on this latter statement after what I have already said.

In now adverting to the treatment which the scientific and classical literature has received in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I need only say that this department is in the hands of Dr Böhtlingk. In saying this, I have said everything. After such an expression of opinion, it will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr Boehtlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyāyana, and still less is he capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts. The errors in his department of the Dictionary are so numerous and of so *peculiar* a kind — yet, on the whole, so thoroughly in accordance with the specimens I have adduced from his Commentary on Pāṇini, that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischievous influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology.

On the present occasion, I must confine myself to these preliminary remarks, or at best content myself with adverting to one other passage in the Preface to the Wörterbuch. It runs thus (p vii) “In order to facilitate the finding (of the words) for those who will make use of our Dictionary, we have to make the following observation. We have banished completely from the verbal roots the vowels *r*, *ṛ*, and *lṛ*, as well as the diphthongs at their end, for *r* at the end of nominal bases we have substituted *ar*.”

Thus the Wörterbuch does not give, like the Hindu grammarians, a radical *kr*, but it gives *kar*, not *klrp*, but *kalp*, not *jṛ* but *jar*, not *pitr*, but *pitā*, not *dātṛ*, but *dātar*, etc. Now, this Dictionary professes to be a Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, not of some imaginary idiom which may be current at Tübingen or St Petersburg. One would therefore have supposed that the public was entitled to expect some reason for these changes,—to know by what scientific considerations the authors of this work were guided, when they took upon themselves the responsibility of thus *abolishing the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pāṇini and subsequent grammarians*. But, in the fullness of its authority, this work does not condescend to meet any such demand. It simply cancels whole categories of grammati-

cal forms, and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness. Whether I am right or not in inferring the arguments which were in the minds of its writers when they presumed thus dictatorially to impose their theories on Sanskrit philology, may be a matter of doubt, but my supposition is that this innovation is founded on researches belonging to comparative philology. It cannot rest on mere Sanskritic ground, since all the forms they have cancelled really occur as thematic forms in the Sanskrit language itself. Thus, to use the same instance *kr* occurs in *kr-ta*, *klrp* in *klrp-ta*, *pitṛ* in *pitṛ-bhis*, *dātṛ* in *dātṛ-bhis*, and as to *jṛ*,—*jirna* can only follow from *jṛ*, not from *jar*. Their reasons, founded on comparative grammar, must then be these: that some bases in *r* are represented in Latin by *er* and *or*, and in Greek by *ep*, *ep*, and *op*, *pitṛ*, for instance corresponds with Latin *pater*, Greek *πατερ*, *dātṛ* with *dator*- and *δορη*, etc.

Now even supposing that such an argument had any weight at all in a dictionary of the Sanskrit language, the application made of it would be incongruous. For though *pitar*- corresponds with *pater*-, *dātār*- does not correspond with *dator*-, its representative would have had to assume the form *dātār*. The whole theory therefore, on the supposition I have made, would practically break down, and the innovation would be inconsistent with itself as well as at variance with comparative results.

But can such an argument be at all admissible? If a Sanskrit Dictionary were concerned, like Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with eliciting from the forms of sister languages the forms of that parental language whence they may be supposed to have derived their origin, it would be defensible to give the forms of that parental language itself. But a Sanskrit Dictionary can have no such aim. Its immediate object is the actual language which it has to deal with. It must take it such as it is, in its very deviations from the germ whence it has sprung. Its function is not to correct the real historical language, but to record its facts, and in doing so, to collect the materials which are to be used as well by the special as by the comparative philologist. And in so far as its direct purpose is concerned, this is all it has to do. Any observations it may

choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given, but it shows an utter want of judgment, to say nothing else when it presumes to alter the very forms of language itself.

I may venture also to add a few other observations on the forms thus cancelled in this "conscientious" Sanskrit Wörterbuch. It is known that many Sanskrit bases, and amongst them the bases in *r*, undergo various changes in their declension and otherwise. *Pitr*, for instance, becomes *pitar*, in the accusative *pitar an*, while it remains as it is, in the instrumental *pitr-bhis*, *dadhi* remains so in *dadhi-bhis*, but its base is *dadhan* with the loss of *a*, in *dadhn ā*, *asthi* forms *asthi-bhis*, but *asthn-ā*. Now there exists a paper of Dr Boehtlingk on the Sanskrit declension, but whoever reads it must fancy that the language either played dice with these and similar forms, or is undergoing some remarkable cure. He talks of bases "which are strengthened as well as weakened," of bases "which are only strengthened," and of bases "which are only weakened." Why language should nurse and physic its bases, as we learn from him, no one will understand. But a sadder spectacle of the treatment of a language or of linguistic facts than is presented in that paper, is not possible to imagine. The reasoning there is exactly on the same level as the reasoning in the "edition" of Pāṇini, of which so many specimens have now become familiar to the reader of this Dissertation. Exactly the same game at dice or the same vagaries of disease reign in this Dictionary: thus, though the declension phenomena of *akshi*, *asthi*, *dadhi*, are identical, and acknowledged to be so by Dr Boehtlingk himself in his paper on Declension (§ 69), in his Dictionary he discourses on the first noun under *akshan*, and again under *akshi*, while, on the contrary, if we look to *asthi*, he refers us to *asthan*, and if under his guidance we now go to *dadhan*, he requests us to seek for information under *dadhi*.

But since the linguistic hospital, which is opened in the works of Dr Boehtlingk, is fortunately not the place in which the Sanskrit language lies,—for this language has had a sound and rational development—it will be obvious to every one who happens not to be placed under Dr Boehtlingk's treatment, that

there must be reasons for this variety of thematic forms which constitute the declension of the same base. And as there are such reasons, the immediate consequence is that we cannot decide, *a priori*, whether *kartar* be the "strengthened" form of the original base *kartr*, or "*kartr*" the "weakened" form of the original base *kartar*. Such a decision can only be taken after a thorough investigation of the influences which cause this change, of the nature of these influences themselves, and of the manner in which they work. And as language does not sit down like a school-boy, first to master the declensions, then the conjugations, and so on,—but in the influences I am speaking of are influences which are traceable in the whole organism of language itself, it is obvious, too, that such an investigation would not restrict itself to the phenomena of declension merely, but extend over the whole area of the linguistic development.

When I myself assumed the responsibility of writing a Sanskrit Dictionary, I considered it incumbent on me to devote a most serious research to those little facts which, as we have seen, are despatched in five lines by our modern "exegetes and lexicographers." Six years have elapsed since I laid my first results, so far as lexicographical purposes are concerned, before the London Philological Society, and it is only the desire of giving them in their full bearing and extent that has hitherto delayed their presentation through the press. Now, it is questions like these — questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with the very utmost circumspection, and which cannot be decided without very laborious research,—it is questions like these which have been trifled with in this Wörterbuch in the most unwarranted manner. It does not show that it even understands the important problem which lies in its path, it briefly informs the reader that it has cancelled all the bases *r*, *ī*, *lr*, etc. and bids him—good bye.

Patañjali,—let us for a moment repose after this dreary journey through the Wörterbuch,—Patañjali on one occasion thus speaks to us: "When a man is in want of a pot, he goes to the

house of a potter and says (potter ') make me a pot, for I have occasion for it But (surely) a man who wants to employ words will not go, like the other, to the house of a grammarian and say : (grammarian ') make me some words, I have occasion for them " 239 Happy Patañjali ! blessed in thy ignorance ! Here we have potters who can fabricate — and not simply meanings of words, but the very words themselves, and words, too, which you laboured so earnestly, so learnedly, so conscientiously, to save from the pottering of all future "exegetes and lexicographers " Nay, we have, too men who can repair to these potters, and call for, and admire, their linguistic wares !

When the presence of these extraordinary facts, which, unhappily, must silence the expression of all the acknowledgment — nay, of *all the admiration I really entertain for the immense industry* displayed in this Wörterbuch,— when with that deep sense which I entertain of the *duties* and of the *influence* of a Dictionary, and, in the actual condition of Sanskrit philology more especially of a Sanskrit Dictionary,— when with these convictions, the earnestness of which, I believe, is proved throughout the whole of this investigation,— when — I will not conceal it — under the indignation and grief I felt in seeing a magnificent opportunity thrown away— as I shall abundantly prove that it has been thrown away in the case of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, — when under these impressions I uttered a warning, five years ago, in the " Westminster Review," a warning contained in three pages, there ensued a spectacle which, during my literary experience, stands without a parallel

Professor Kuhn,— not indeed a proficient in Sanskrit, nor having ever obtained any position amongst those who are earnestly engaged in Sanskrit philology, but — as a contributor

²³⁹ Mahābhāṣya Introduction (p 52 ed Ballantyne) : षटेन कार्यं करिष्यन्कुम्भसारङ्गं गत्वाहं कुरु षट् कार्ष्मणेन करिष्यामिति । न तद्वच्च दान्प्रयुक्तानां नैवाकर्तुं गत्वाहं कुरु शब्दान्प्रयोश्च इति ।

of quotations to the *Wörterbuch*, launched against me the grossest personal invectives which ever disgraced the pages of a scientific journal. As sound, literary argument was beyond his range, he indemnified himself, and gratified his employers, by calling me names. Unfortunately for him his abuse could produce no effect upon me, for the following reason. Amongst the few critical remarks for which I had room, in the "*Westminster Review*," there was one which illustrated the manner in which Professor Roth had translated a ritual text. This remark was expressly written for Professor Kuhn's amusement as well as that of Professor Weber. For at a small Sanskrit party which used to meet every fortnight at Berlin during the years 1847 and 1848, I had shown them the Commentary of Mādhava on a *Mīmāṃsā* work, the editing of which I had then commenced, this Commentary being the proof of the assertion I had made in 1855 in the "*Westminster Review*." Professor Kuhn heartily enjoyed, at one of these meetings, the precious translation of the passage in question from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* given by Professor Roth, in the preface (pp xxxviii xli) to his edition of the *Nirukta*. Nay more, so anxious was he to possess its substance, before it was published, that in my presence he took notes from the Commentary I am speaking of—viz that of the *Jaiminiya-nyāya-māla-vistara*. And in the invectives to which I am alluding, he does not deny the existence, nor yet the value, of my evidence, but he words his defence of Professor Roth in so studied and so ambiguous a manner as to create in the minds of his readers a suspicion as to the reliability of the statement I had made, though its truth was perfectly familiar to him.²⁹⁰

Now, a writer who has recourse to such weapons as these has laid aside those qualities which are necessary to retain a man within the pale of a gentlemanly consideration, and his language, however gross, and adapted to his own character,

²⁹⁰ In possession of the information I am speaking of he writes as follows: *Der letzteren stellt der verfasser eine bedeutend abweichende des*

can not touch one who does not stand on the same level with him

A similar exhibition took place, I am grieved to say, in a journal of high standing and respectability, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft" — It is a salutary practice in the journals of all learned societies, not to admit into

commentators gegenüber, da er aber nur the commentator und nicht all the commentators oder almost all the commentators sagt, so ist stark zu vermuthen, dass noch andere commentare existiren, welche den text wahrscheinlich in der Rothschen weise erklären werden, dabei nehme ich natürlich den Fall als ganz unmöglich an, dass der verfasser (der nichts als die übersetzung giebt) etwa selber den commentar missverstanden haben sollte" i. e. "In opposition to the latter [viz the version of Professor Roth of the passage in question] the reviewer gives another of the commentators which is considerably different from it, but as he merely says the commentator, and not all the commentators or almost all the commentators, there is a strong probability (sic!) that there are other commentators who probably (sic!) explain the text in the manner of Professor Roth With these words I assume it, as a matter of course, to be plainly impossible that the reviewer who gives nothing but the translation, should have misunderstood the german cry" — That Professor Kuhn had not the slightest doubt as to who was the author of the review in question, even he will not venture to deny, for he has stated the fact in letters and in conversation. But even if he had any such doubt, he knew that I was in possession of the commentary, for he had taken notes from it. If then, the ascertainment of truth alone had been the object of his remark, as the public might expect of an author, and if his notes were not complete enough—which however, I do not admit—the time required for a letter to me and an answer back that is to say, five days, would have sufficed to give him all the information he could wish for. It requires, however no statement from me that his object was not to inform his readers of the true state of the facts, it better suited his purpose to insinuate a doubt as to the correctness of the translation I had given. Indeed Professor Weber,— who as I have mentioned, possessed the same knowledge and had obtained it in the same manner, as Professor Kuhn settles the point. Though he did not remain behind

their pages scurrilous or libellous attacks against individuals, and this practice has been rigidly adhered to in the journal to which I am adverting, with the single exception of my own case Professor Weber, who is also in the service of the *Worterbuch*, suddenly attacked me in this journal,—not, indeed, with anything that deserves the name of argument, but with personal abuse of the coarsest kind Five years have passed by, and at last a sense of justice, which does credit to himself, has re-entered the mind of Professor Weber, and in the last number of the “*Zeitschrift*,” which reached me when this Dissertation was nearly completed in print, he has fully and honestly retracted all his former calumnies, still, however, combining with the compliments he now pays to my Dictionary, the remark that my views of the *Worterbuch* show a perfect derangement of my mental faculties, since I do not reject the authority of the greatest Hindu scholars as freely and easily as the work he so assiduously praises

I am certainly in no humour to find fault with the opinion which he entertains of my mental condition, for it will always give me a sense of safety and satisfaction when I find him bearing testimony to the vast distance which separates our respective modes of studying, and judging of, Hindu antiquity But, as he has chosen to connect his opinion of me with a piece of scientific advice, this seems a fitting opportunity for illustrating, *once more*, his competence for passing a judgment on matters of Sanskrit philology

his colleague in scurrilous abuse, and through, in speaking of my translation, he shows his usual levity he, nevertheless, plainly and openly acknowledges the full reliability of the translation I had given, on the ground of the *Mīmāṃsā* work He says er kennt nämlich offenbar nur die systematisierende Erklärung der *Mīmāṃsā*-schule, etc.” i.e. the reviewer obviously knows only the systematizing explanation of the *Mīmāṃsā* school, etc” Thus whatever be his opinion of this explanation he speaks of it from *personal knowledge*, and admits that my account of it was correct and not liable of doubt

He says " Another, third, essential difference [between the Wörterbuch and my Dictionary, — I, myself, trust and hope that attentive readers will find many more *essential* differences than three between the two works] consists in [my] not marking the accent of the words "

In his opinion, therefore, the Wörterbuch *does* mark the accent. Now, setting aside the very considerable quantity of words which are not marked with any accent in this work, the instances in which it is marked there seem to satisfy the scientific requirements of Professor Weber. I ought, then, to mention in the first place, that in all such cases the accent is put there over the word without any further explanatory remark. But I have shown that there are *periods* in the known Sanskrit *grammatical* literature, — that the first period is that of Pāṇini, the second that of the Rk Prāśikhya, the third (perhaps fourth) that of Kātyāyana, the fourth (or perhaps fifth) that of the Phitsūtras, and that, as we continue our descent, we have the period of the Kāśikā, Kaumudī, etc. Thus, marking an accent without saying to what period such an accent belongs, *and upto what period it remains in force*, is giving evidence of the greatest superficiality, — it is showing, too, that the difficulties of the question we are speaking of, were not at all understood. As regards myself, I believe I might have entered into such detail since I have considered it my duty to turn my researches into this channel also; and if the scientific and liberal disposition of my publishers could have disregarded all material considerations in the case — and could have added still more to the great concessions of space which they have already made me, to their own material detriment, since the publication of the Third part of my Dictionary, — I should have been able not only to give quotations *historically*, which the Wörterbuch, notwithstanding Professor Weber's bold assertion — I will not attach to it another epithet — does not give, and to discuss the matters of accent, — but even to re-edit, little by little, the Commentary to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, as I have already done on

several occasions, in order to prove the meanings I give, and which meanings no one could gather from the text as edited by Professor Weber. No doubt I might have done all this had I been perfectly independent of material considerations. But, at all events, had I, in marking the accents, contented myself with that which satisfies completely Professor Weber's scientific wants, my Dictionary would have become as superficial as the book which he has qualified as a work of the "most scrupulous conscientiousness" ²⁹¹

In adverting to Professor Weber's advice, I may as well quote one more instance from his impartial illustration of the difference between the two Dictionaries. It concerns the meanings of words in both. But as I have adverted to this subject before, I need now only say, that he describes the *Worterbuch* in the following manner

"It represents," he writes in the '*Zeitschrift*', "the principle of reality in contrast with the historical proceeding of interpretation [which he says, is mine], by allowing the words to interpret themselves through the chronological order (*sic* !!) of the quotations added to them, and through these quotations themselves, the authors always quoting the native exegesis also, but merely as a secondary means" ²⁹² And of myself he says, that my "orthodox" faith in the authority of native exegetes and

²⁹¹ In his libel he says, 'dieses Werk des bewundernswürthesten Fleisses und der sorgsamsten Gewissenhaftigkeit' [For Eng Trans See App A]

²⁹² "*Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*," vol XIV p 785. Die Haupttendenz, die er [*sic* myself] hierbei verfolgt, besteht eben—und dies markirt einen ferneren Haupt-Unterschied von *Böhtlingk's Reich*—darin, dass er sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Ansichten der einheimischen Erklärer und Sprachforscher zur prägnanten Geltung zu bringen, während *Böhtlingk's Reich* diesem historischen Erklärungsverfahren gegenüber das sachliche Princip vertreten, die Wörter nämlich durch zeitliche Ordnung der betreffenden Stellen und durch eben diese Stellen selbst sich unmittelbar erklären zu lassen, wobei sie die einheimische Exegese zwar auch stets anführen, aber doch nur als sekundäres Hülfsmittel betrachten."

[For Eng Trans See App A]

grammarians" is something perfectly bewildering, indeed, it presupposes the "derangement of my mental faculties" ²⁹³

It requires all the levity, on the one hand, and all the hardihood, on the other, which are the mixed essentials of Professor Weber's literary productions, to allow an author to come before the public with statements like these. As for myself, any one may see that there are various instances in my Dictionary where I plainly state that I differ from the etymologies or meanings given by the native authorities. These cases of dissent are certainly not frequent, because a serious investigation of the native grammarians led me in most instances to appreciate their scholarship and the correctness of its results, nor have I the presumption to supersede them with mere vague and vapouring doubts, but that I have ground sometimes to differ even from the views of a Kātyāyana or a Patañjali, Professor Weber will have probably learned now from the foregoing pages, though he might have learned it already from my Sanskrit Dictionary, which he is good enough to favour with his advice. His statement, therefore, concerning my blind belief in all that the Hindu scholars say, is founded on that same overweening superficiality which, as we have seen, leads him to assume the responsibility of schooling Kātyāyana, whom he does not even understand.

²⁹³ *Ibid* p. 756 "Persönliche Beziehungen haben uns seitdem überzeugt dass der Verfasser bei Abfassung jenes, für uns allerdings immer noch geradezu unbegreiflichen Angriffes auf das Petersburger Wörterbuch dennoch wirklich im vollsten Rechte zu sein glaubte. Es setzt dies freilich nach unserer Ansicht eine Art Verirrung des Denkvermögens voraus, wie sie auf sonstigen Gebieten nicht selten ist, hier aber in der That befremdet eine orthodoxe Hingabe nämlich an die Auktorität der indischen Exegeten und Grammatiker, wie sie uns gegenüber diesen Haarspaltern die bei aller Spitzfindigkeit, denn doch gar oft jenen verblendeten Leutern gleichen die da Mücken seigen und Kameele verschlucken, sehr wenig am Platz scheint." [For Eng. Trans. vide App. A.]

But as to his description of the *Wörterbuch*, I know not how to qualify it without using language which could only be used by a Professor Kuhn. It is one of my most serious reproaches against the Sanskrit *Wörterbuch*, that it not only creates its own meanings, and by applying them to the most important documents of the literature, *practically falsifies antiquity itself*, but deliberately, and nearly constantly, *suppresses* all the information we may derive from the native commentaries. I have intimated that the great injury they have thus done to the due appreciation of Hindu antiquity, would have been lessened had they at least, as common sense would suggest, given by the side of their own inventions the meanings of Sāyana or Mahādhara or of other authorities, and thus enabled the student to judge for himself. Yet while the reader may peruse their Dictionary page after page, sheet after sheet without discovering a trace of these celebrated Vaidika commentaries, while the exceptions to this rule are so rare as to become almost equal to zero, Professor Weber dares to speculate on the credulity of the public in telling it that this Dictionary *ALWAYS quotes the native exegesis*!

When a cause has sunk so low as to have such defenders and require such means of defences as these, when its own contributors and its noisiest bards have no other praise to chant than such as this, it seems almost cruel to aggravate its agony by exposure or reproach.

But the spectacle exhibited on the appearance of my remarks in the "*Westminster Review*" does not end here, and its epilogue is perhaps even more remarkable than the play itself. In the same "*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*"* there followed another act, which is so characteristic of the system pursued in these attacks, that it deserves a special word, merely for the sake of curiosity. An individual whose sole connection with Sanskrit studies consists in handing Sanskrit books to those who can read

* [XI, 286]

† [Perhaps Gosche]

them, a literary naught, wholly unknown, but assuming the airs of a quantity, because it has figures before it that prompt it on,—this personage who, as his own friends informed me, is perfectly ignorant of Sanskrit, he, too, was allowed to give his opinion on the Worterbuch. I need not say that, in the absence of all knowledge of the subject itself, it merely vented itself, in the most grandiloquent praise, but, to complete its mission, there was added to this fustian, language, in reference to me, such as certainly was never heard, or admitted before, in a respectable journal of any society. He need not tremble lest I should drag him into notoriety. Nature has not fitted him for estimating the ridicule to which he exposed himself in becoming the mouthpiece and the puppet of his instigators. If he deserve anything, it is not chastisement, but pity, and the mercy of a charitable concealment of his name.

And all this outrage, not only against the interests of science and truth, but against the commonest rules of decency, was committed in a series of planned attacks, because I had warned the Sanskrit Worterbuch of the danger of its career, and had not expressed any admiration for Dr. Boehtlingk's competence or scholarship.

It was then, and the ground of observations I had made in regard to his want of proficiency, that I was called upon by one of his men, not only to have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini," but even for the *hidden* reasons he might have had in foisting on the public his blunders of every kind. The "editor of Pāṇini" was held before me as a symbol of scientific accomplishment, his "editor of Pāṇini" was the great thunderbolt which was hurled at my head by one of these little Jupiters.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ Prof. Kuhn writes in his "Zeitschrift" the following words: "Wo der alte grammatiker nicht erwahnung gethan ist, gethan = nur deshalb nicht weil ihre etymologie mit der des verfassers ubereinstimmte: stellten dieselben aber ohne jene zu erwahnen eigene etymologeen auf, so liess sich doch wohl voraussetzen, dass der herausgeber des Pāṇini, des Vopadeva u. s. w. dazu seine wohlwollenden gründe gehabt haben mochte," i. e. "where no mention was made [in the Wörterbuch] of the old grammar-

For eighteen years I have been thoroughly acquainted with the value and the character of this "edition" of Pāṇini, and yet, from a natural disinclination to antagonise with those who have similar pursuits to my own, I have refrained from apprising the public of the knowledge I possessed in regard to it. Twelve years have passed since I explained my views on this book personally and privately, at our Sanskrit parties, to Professors Weber and Kuhn, and the longer the interval passed over, the less I felt disposed to speak of it in print. At present, after twenty years' time, I should have considered it almost unfair to rake up the past, for a sense of charity would have told me that the moral and intellectual condition of a man may undergo considerable changes during so considerable a period of his life. But in spite of my strongest desire to com-

and this was done because their etymology agreed with that of the authors of the Wörterbuch, but when the latter made their own etymologies without naming the former, it was but natural to suppose that the editor of Pāṇini, of Vopadeva, etc. had his own well-weighed reasons for doing so." The real nature of this statement of Professor Kuhn will become apparent from the review which I shall give of the Wörterbuch. But his information, as it is, is not without great interest. Thus, according to this quotationer of the Wörterbuch, *its authors pass over in silence the labours of the Hindu grammarians* — not because they see reason to adopt the results of the latter — but because these labours have the honour to meet with the approval of Dr Böhtlingk and Company. Under any circumstances, however, it was but natural and rational to pass them over in silence and *to suppress the information they give*, — for, either they have the honour of being approved of by Dr Böhtlingk, or "the editor of Pāṇini" had probably his well-weighed reasons for not agreeing with them, and, in the latter case, there was of course not the slightest necessity that he should give or even allude to their important reasons. The passage quoted would alone quite suffice to illustrate the character of the fulsome adulation and of the puffing advertisements — written, of course, exclusively by the employed scribes of the Wörterbuch — which for some years have made their appearance in some literary journals of Germany, and have not only misled, but imposed upon the public unacquainted or imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit philology.

bine the defence of literary interests with a regard for all the circumstances connected with the author himself, I am not allowed to remain silent, in consequence of the insolent provocations which I receive. Not only does Dr Boehtlingk quote his "edition" of Pāṇini, in his *Wörterbuch*,—not only does he thus force it, as it were, on us by the references he makes to it, and acknowledge it to this day as his legitimate child,—but one of his own scribes, well acquainted with the judgment I should pass on it, has the hardihood to defy me publicly, by bidding me have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini."

Well, then, I have taken up this impertinent challenge. In so far as my present subject permitted, I have illustrated the nature of this immaculate book, and it will not be my fault if I am compelled to recur to it again.

Still a provocation of this kind alone would have as little induced me to take up my pen now as it did heretofore, but when I see the public told authoritatively, yet without any proof, that Sāyanā teaches that understanding of the Veda which was current in India no longer than a few centuries ago,—when I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines—the most valuable, and sometimes the only, source of all our knowledge of ancient India—are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and, as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidika texts,—when I see that the most ancient records of Hindu antiquity are interpreted to the European public in such a manner as to cease to be that which they are,—when a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity,—when I see that the very forms of the language are falsified, and that it is made a principle to slur the grammar of Pāṇini, and to ridicule those who lay stress on it,—when I see that one of the highest grammatical authorities of India is schooled for a "want of practice and skill," while this censure is passed without even an understanding of the work to which it refers,—when I see

that they who emphatically claim the epithet of "veracious"²⁹³ make statements which are the very reverse of truth, — and when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professorial position they hold, — and when, moreover, departing from rule and precedent, I see the journal of a distinguished Society — I fully hope through an oversight of its editor, though a Professor of Sanskrit himself — permanently made the channel for propagating such statements as I have described and qualified, together with these scandalous personal attacks and calumnies, — then I hold that it would be a want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these SATURNALIA OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.

On this ground I have raised my voice, however feeble and solitary for the moment, and have endeavoured to examine the competence of those who set themselves up as our masters and authorities. On this ground I have endeavoured to vindicate for Pāṇini the position he holds in Sanskrit literature, and the position he ought to hold amongst honest Sanskrit philologists.

²⁹³ Professor Weber in his libel "einen um so peinlicheren Eindruck muss ■ auf jeden wahrheitsliebenden Forscher machen, etc.," i.e. "the more painful is the impression which must be produced on every veracious scholar" [viz, if he reads my opinion on the Wörterbuch, which opinion, — I must add, so far from having changed, is even more emphatic now than it was when I wrote the review which has so much displeased him].

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH VERSION OF FOOT-NOTES

FOOT-NOTE

291 In his libel he says, ' this work is written with the most admirable diligence and the most careful conscientiousness '—

292 ' The main tendency he pursues in this consists and this points at a further very important difference between him and Boehtlingk-Poth — in making it his business to evaluate the opinion of the indigenous commentators and linguists, whereas Boehtlingk-Roth advocate the objective principle in contrast with this historical mode of interpretation. They explain the individual words through themselves by arranging the passages concerned in a temporal order and with the aid of nothing else but these passages. In doing so, they would always mention the native exegesis too, but they consider it a secondary resource " (Z D M G p 755)

293 Personal contacts and communication have since then convinced us that the author when writing that attack, which we, however, fail to understand, on the Petersburg Dictionary, believed to be completely justified. This in our opinion, presupposes a kind of error of judgement, which, not rare in other fields, in this case is, indeed, most strange, for it is an orthodox surrender to the authority of the Indian commentators and grammarians — a surrender which seems quite out of place to be suited in view of these hairsplitters, who in all their subtlety have still very often deluded those people who strain at gnats but swallow the camels " — (Z D M G p 756)

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